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# Daily Report

## SOVIET UNION

18TH AUCCTU CONGRESS

PART I

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FBIS DAILY REPORT

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*Soviet Union*

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AUCCTU PLENUM APPROVES REPORT FOR CONGRESS

LD201425 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb (TASS) -- A plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was held in Moscow today. The plenum discussed and approved the AUCCTU report to the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "Report on the Work of the AUCCTU and the Tasks of the USSR Trade Unions in Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

Stepan Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, is to deliver the review report at the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions.

The plenum approved the draft statute of the USSR trade unions with the amendments and addenda put forward during discussion in trade union organizations and adopted the decision for submission at the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions.

REPORTAGE ON 18TH AUCCTU CONGRESS ACTIVITIES

Congress Opens

LD241139 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0655 GMT on 24 February begins a live relay from the 18th congress of trade unions of the USSR in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The announcer sets the scene as the Soviet leadership enters the presidium as follows: Gorbachev, Gromyko, Shalayev, Sokolov, Ryzhkov, Vorotonikov, Demichev, Kapitonov, Shevardnadze, Aliyev, Dolgikh, Cherbrikov, Yeltsin, Nikonov, Yakovlev and Slyunkov.

At 0659 GMT AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev opens the congress as follows:

"Comrade delegates, at the congresses of the industry trades unions, the oblast and kray interunion conferences, and the congresses of the union republic trade unions, 5,000 delegates were elected for the 18th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR. Some 4,978 delegates have come to the congress. Some 22 people are absent for valid reasons. We thus have every reason to begin our work. What do the delegates think? It is proposed to begin the work of the congress: Are there any objections?" There is silence. Shalayev says: "The 18th Congress of the Trades Unions of the USSR is declared open." This is greeted with applause.

Shalayev continues to further applause: Comrades, leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state, unanimously elected as delegates to the 18th Congress of Trade Unions, allow me on your behalf, from all of us, to warmly and cordially welcome Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to cordially welcome the members and candidate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee."

The delegates approve the proposed candidates for the congress bodies, presidium, secretariat, editorial commission and credentials commission. All are elected without objections or abstentions.

Shalayev continues: "Comrades, delegates from 134 countries have come to participate in the 18th congress of Soviet Trades Unions. They represent 188 national trade union centers and 10 international and regional organizations. Allow me on your behalf, on behalf of the trade unions of the USSR, to warmly welcome our foreign guests present in the hall, the envoys of the working people and the trades unions of all continents. [applause]

"We are grateful to all the trade union workers and activists who have come from abroad and to the organizations who have sent them to our congress for this demonstration of respect for the Soviet trade unions.

"We warmly welcome the delegation from the WFTU, the most representative organization of the world's working class, which has earned the profound respect of working people by its untiring struggle for their economic and political rights, for peace and social progress. [applause]

"We are happy to see at the Congress of Soviet Trade Unions envoys from the working people of the socialist countries. The constantly strengthening interaction and cooperation between our trade unions, illustrates the genuine fraternal unity between the working people and the peoples of the socialist countries. [applause]

"With a sense of profound proletarian solidarity we welcome the delegates from trade union centers in the countries of Europe and North America, Asia and Africa, Latin America and Near East, Australia and Oceania, which are waging a persistent struggle against the exploitationary policies of the monopolies, against unemployment, inflation and other social vices of capitalism, against the monstrous phenomena engendered by imperialism such as neocolonialism, apartheid and racism, and which are waging a struggle for national independence, for the social progress of their peoples and for peace and security. We warmly welcome the representatives from international organizations and regional trade union organizations. [applause]

"Comrade delegates, allow me on your behalf to assure our foreign guests that the Soviet trade unions will be invariably faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the working class and trade unions of other countries, and the cause of achieving and reinforcing the unity of the working people and the trade unions for the sake of peace and social progress. [applause]

The congress agenda and time limit are adopted without objection.

Shalayev then announces: "Thus the following agenda for the 18th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR has been confirmed:

"1. The report on the work of the AUCCTU and the tasks of the trades unions of the USSR in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress,

"2. The report of the Central Auditing Commission,

"3. On changes to the charter of the trades unions of the USSR,

"4. Elections to the AUCCTU,

"5. Elections to the Central Auditing Commission.

"It is proposed not to make a separate report on the third issue but to summarize the substance of the changes to the charter of the trade unions of the USSR in the review report of the AUCCTU. Are there any objections"?

This is greeted by silence, and the session times are adopted without objection.

An unidentified speaker says: "We shall now begin examining the first issue on the congress agenda. For the review report on the work of the AUCCTU and the tasks of the trade unions of the USSR in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress the floor is given to Comrade Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU."

As the audience applauds, the 19-minute relay ends at 0714 GMT.

The video shows the leadership seated on the first row behind the rostrum from left to right as follows: unidentified man, Shatalov, Marchuk, unidentified woman, unidentified man, Zaykov, Cherbikov, Ligachev, Gromyko, Gorbachev, Shalayev, unidentified man, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Shcherbitskiy, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Aliyev, unidentified woman, unidentified man, unidentified woman, and unidentified man.

Other leaders are seated in 2-row blocks behind the first rows as follows:

In the central block, first row from left to right: Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Sokolov, Talyzin and Solovyev; in the second row: two unidentified persons, Tereshkova, unidentified man, Antonov and Batalin;

In the next block to the right, first row from left to right: Slyunkov, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Medvedev and Razumovskiy; in the second row: unidentified person, Vedernikov, Gusev, Kamentsev, Silayev, and two unidentified persons;

In the block at the far right, first row from left to right: Nikonov, Lukyanov, Kapitonov, Menteshashvili, unidentified person and Mironenko; in the second row: Shcherbina, Shkolnikov and five unidentified persons.

AUCCTU Chairman's Report

PM041801 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 87 First Edition pp 2-6

[Unattributed report on "AUCCTU Chairman Comrade S.A. Shalayev's report" read at the 25 February session of the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress and published under the rubric "18th USSR Trade Union Congress": "Report on the AUCCTU's Work and the Tasks of USSR Trade Unions in the Light of the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions" -- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Comrade delegates!

Esteemed guests!

The 18th Trade Union Congress is being held at an important and crucial period of Soviet society's life. Transformations are being implemented in the country in line with the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and 27th CPSU Congress decisions -- transformations which are unprecedented in scale, revolutionary in content, and designed to ensure the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the increasingly full discovery and activation of the mighty potential of socialism, and the scaling of new historical heights by our motherland.

All this work was given a powerful impetus and even greater dynamism by the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. It was a major political event in the life of the party and in the life of Soviet society. The plenum analyzed the state of affairs in the country in depth and put forward innovative and large-scale tenets which constitute a program for practical actions in all future work to fulfill the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. The plenum is pushing the whole of society substantially further along the path of restructuring, the path of renewal.

The Soviet trade unions, which unite 140 million persons in their ranks, wholly and fully support the party's course of acceleration, restructuring, and democratization, base their hopes and plans on it, and express determination to devote their strength and creative energy to ensuring the firm and consistent implementation of this course.

The party can fully rely on the trade unions in the work on the revolutionary renewal of society. All trade union organizations and all trade union links spoke in favor of restructuring during the report and election meetings, conferences and congresses which took place.

The report and election campaign also displayed a profound awareness of the need to fundamentally renew the activity of the country's trade unions.

The time period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress was used by trade unions to determine their position, to join in the common work for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, and to enhance the labor and social activeness of trade union members and their organizations. The multimillion army of trade union aktiv members was augmented by fresh reinforcements, primarily from among workers, kolkhoz members, and young people. The cadres structure of trade union councils and committees was renewed and strengthened, augmented by people capable of thinking and acting in the new fashion, people who are active champions of restructuring.

These are just the initial steps. Major shortcomings in our work, phenomena of stagnation, and inertia among cadres are even more clearly visible in the light of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum decisions. Many trade union councils and

committees suffer from a lack of professional efficiency, principle, and the demanding nature of their work. They do not sufficiently rely on the broad aktiv and make poor use of their rights. The primary organizations -- the main and central link of trade unions, acting directly at labor collective level and in the front ranks of the struggle for acceleration -- are not fully activated. In many instances, the self-motivated and creative nature of trade unions as the broadest organization of working people under the conditions of restructuring is being developed intolerably slowly.

The AUCCTU and its Presidium and Secretariat bear special responsibility for the fact that in many instances the trade unions' work proceeds at idling speed and fails to produce the desired results. They still offer inadequate guidance of the process of restructuring and fail to display sufficient energy and persistence. This, Comrades, must be said with the utmost frankness at the congress.

We must, of course, bear in mind that serious and profound changes in trade unions' work are not a one-shot, once-only act, but a process demanding a certain amount of time, persistence, and increasingly greater efforts.

To aim for the acceleration and deepening of restructuring means to improve by all means the trade unions' work among the masses, to develop Soviet people's labor and social activeness, and to display tireless concern for the satisfaction of their needs and requirements.

It means to resolutely eradicate phenomena like conservatism, excessive administration, and stage management, which are intolerable for trade unions, and to teach trade union workers daring, determination, and the skill to act energetically, with total dedication of strength and with lofty responsibility for the work entrusted to them.

It means the trade unions' entire organizational and educational work must be made more assertive, more specific, and more fruitful. To achieve this, it is necessary to by all means deepen the self-motivated and democratic principles in trade union organizations' work, to expand openness, to develop businesslike and open criticism and self-criticism, and to create everywhere an atmosphere of lofty responsibility in each trade union member for the common cause.

It is from such principled positions and with such high demands that our congress must profoundly and objectively analyze the trade unions' work during the period under review, and especially during the period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress.

It is necessary to review in detail and frankly the entire package of problems concerning restructuring and to map out specific ways for the further and comprehensive improvement of Soviet trade unions' activity.

I. Augmenting the Contribution to the Acceleration of the Country's Socioeconomic Development and Developing Working People's Initiative and Creativeness

Comrades! /The economy/ has been and remains the main area of activity for the party, the trade unions, and the whole Soviet people. This is the basis for increasing the people's prosperity and strengthening the motherland's might. Until the year 2000, in other words in just three 5-year plan periods, we must accomplish as much as has been accomplished in almost 70 years of Soviet power. It is through scientific and technical progress that we have to double the country's production potential and national income and ensure a social labor productivity growth of 2.3-2.5 times. These are the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Reference materials on the work by the AUCCTU and Soviet trade unions during the period under review have been distributed to delegates. They also contain information on the development of the country's economy. Its growth rate has been accelerated in the time since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, and initial results have been achieved in the utilization of the vast potential now at our country's disposal.

Fulfilling the counterplans and socialist pledges they adopted, the country's labor collectives sold output worth R9 billion in excess of the 1986 targets, and the highest growth yet in the eighties was achieved in terms of national income, industrial output, and labor productivity in industry and agriculture.

The successful development of the country's fuel and energy complex and several other industrial production sectors and of purchases of agricultural produce continued despite the fact the planned level of industrial output was not reached in January this year through omissions in organizational and economic work and difficulties in railroad transport, construction, and some other areas of the economy under severe winter conditions.

Radical opportunities for accelerating socioeconomic development are offered by the incipient fundamental renewal of the material and technical base, the reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress, the radical reform of the economic machinery, the introduction of financial autonomy and self-capitalization, the restoration of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in management, and the strengthening of discipline and order.

The large-scale economic experiments conducted in the last few years proved the great efficiency of the new conditions of economic management. Starting this year, the new conditions of work have now been adopted by the whole of industry, while the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and 36 associations and enterprises in other sectors have switched to conditions of self-capitalization and self-financing, in other words conditions of complete financial autonomy.

Advanced forms of labor organization are being assimilated with growing confidence in the country's agro-industrial complex and the construction industry. Transport, communications, trade, and consumer services have started operating in the new fashion.

Major importance will be attached to the law on the state enterprise, now under widespread discussion in draft form in the country. Its purpose is to fundamentally change the conditions and methods of economic management in the economy's basic link and to consolidate in enterprises' activity the combination of planning principles and financial autonomy, independence and responsibility, and new forms of self-management born out of the creativity of the masses.

Under these conditions it is necessary to organize the trade unions' entire production-economic work in a completely new fashion, to accurately define their role and position in the implementation of economic methods of management, and to abandon outdated stereotypes.

To fully activate the human factor and make the working people active participants in restructuring, it is necessary for us to learn and to teach all

workers and employees to work under the new conditions -- the conditions of comprehensive expansion of the rights and economic independence of associations, enterprises, and their labor collectives and trade union organizations, the conditions of enhancing their responsibility for the results of their activity; the trade unions must fully emerge as a school for management and economic activity.

It is impermissible for questions involving the improvement of the forms of management and economic work and planning to be resolved by a narrow circle of administrative personnel without the labor collective's participation. Sociological research conducted in a number of enterprises showed a large proportion of workers have only vague ideas about how labor remuneration and economic incentive funds are formed and the purposes for which the money in them is spent, about the new rights vested in labor collectives in this area, and about the measures of responsibility introduced for mismanagement and substandard production. Given such a lack of knowledge, how is it possible to seriously expect active and conscious participation by all workers in the introduction of new methods of economic management and high returns from them?

This is why there is an imperative need to complete the process of working people's general economic education, which was launched at the AUCCTU's initiative. Trade union central committees and councils, the trade union press, the entire system of economic education, culture and enlightenment institutions, and science and technology society organizations must see to it that every working person acquires the habits of socialist economic management and is capable of applying them in the interests of the collective and society. All the work on general economic education must be focused on education in /financial autonomy./

During the period under review, trade union and economic organs worked hard on the development of team forms of labor organization. So far, however, only an insignificant proportion of teams have successfully switched to conditions of financial autonomy. This work is particularly unsatisfactory at enterprises under the Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, and the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, in the Uzbek and Turkmen republics, in Kemerovo and Orenburg Oblasts, and in several other regions in the country.

Data from selective surveys in industry show that targets for labor productivity growth are notified to only 45 percent of teams and targets for material expenditure to just 16 percent. One team in every three is not notified of targets even for the volume of work. Team plans are frequently not coordinated with general plans for the development of production and are not backed with the necessary resources. About what kind of financial autonomy are we talking? Financial autonomy cannot even be thought of without the restructuring of economic mutual relations at enterprises, without plan and accountability.

Trade union committees, together with economic organs, must tackle the solution of these problems, aiming to ensure that the principles of financial autonomy permeate through all links of production. It is necessary to create conditions for the transfer of teams and other subdivisions to collective contracts and enterprises to complete financial autonomy, self-financing, and self-capitalization, when funds for production and social development are earned and distributed by the labor collective itself. It is incumbent on us to resolutely eradicate any distortions of the principles on which the new conditions of economic management are based, and any attempts to disrupt the stability of set economic normatives, redistribute incomes, and appropriate from labor collectives any funds they may have earned, thus undermining their faith in the effectiveness of their own efforts.

Proposals were submitted in the course of the pre-congress report and election campaign concerning the need for sector trade union organs to participate in the elaboration and adoption of two new economic normatives, which are exceptionally important under the conditions of self-capitalization: the normative for profit distribution between the enterprise, the sector, and the state; and the normative for the formation of the wages fund. In our view, this is a fair demand, and it must be resolved by the government with our participation.

The improved utilization of production potential is part and parcel of the national economy's intensification. In industry alone, a 1-percent increase in the return on fixed production capital will make it possible to manufacture additional output worth almost R8 billion. The transfer of equipment to two-shift working and to three- and four-shift working in cases of expensive, special-purpose equipment in the next 2 years, /following the Leningraders' example/ will be of great national economic importance and will make it possible to substantially boost production efficiency while releasing considerable funds for social purposes. Trade union committees must actively assist the solution of this task.

It is understandable that in this work there is absolutely no room for "willful" decisions or attempts to switch to a new work system without any serious preparation, just by formally reassigning workers to different shifts. Trade union committees must take a principled stance on these issues and must aim at ensuring that all measures involving multishift work systems are elaborated and implemented with broad participation by working people, on the basis of profound economic analysis and production needs. The work of transportation, trade, public catering, consumer services for the population, and preschool, culture and enlightenment, and other institutions in the social sphere must be restructured jointly with ispolkoms and economic organs. There must be rigorous implementation of all measures envisaged by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution on this question, including those concerning the stepping up of moral and material incentives to workers for increased shift work.

/Questions concerning the improved organization of socialist competition/ must be given top priority in the restructuring of trade unions' production-economic work. Competition is a most important aspect in the development of workers as genuine masters in production and of their keenness to solve the contemporary, particularly great, and responsible tasks.

It must be admitted that for years on end socialist competition in all its forms was oriented, even by the trade unions, along the extensive path of economic development and mainly toward quantitative labor indicators, expansion of the number of types of competition, and maximum "coverage." The result was that competition steadily lost its importance as a powerful means for large-scale inculcation of socialist enterprise, energy, and daring initiative. Yet that is what V.I. Lenin considered of paramount importance, pointing to the need to use competition "to involve on a really /broad/ scale, on a really /mass/ scale, the real majority of working people in the arena of work where they could prove themselves, use their abilities, and discover their talents...."

A series of measures was adopted following the 27th CPSU Congress to improve the leadership of socialist competition.

The CPSU Central Committee appeal to the Soviet Union's working people and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee resolution "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan Targets" generated a wide-ranging quest for additional production reserves and marked the beginning of the mass movement to fittingly welcome the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Thousands of teams and collectives in sections and shops in all sectors of the national economy pledged to fulfill the production plan for the 1st 2 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan period by the jubilee date and to find a successful solution to other immediate production and social tasks.

Many plants and factories in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, and the Urals resolved to ensure the entire growth of production volume without increasing workforce numbers. Machine builders in Ivanovo, Gomel, and Ulyanovsk are assimilating the production and manufacture of advanced machines and equipment which go to increase labor productivity severalfold. Agricultural workers in Belorussia, Lithuania, Tataria, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and Orenburg Oblast are achieving significant growth of agricultural output on the basis of the introduction of intensive technologies and advanced forms of labor organization.

An outstanding example of working people's desire to make their personal contribution to acceleration and achieve a radical increase of labor productivity is provided by the initiative of Vladimir Gvozdev's and Anatoliy Potapov's miners' collectives and Vasiliy Sidoreyko's team of oil industry workers. They set for themselves and are successfully solving the task of reaching by Great October's 70th anniversary the level of labor productivity planned for the end of the 5-year plan period and doubling it by 1990, thus reaching the levels of the year 2000.

This initiative has already been backed by 1,700 miners' teams and around 4,000 oil and gas industry collectives in Tyumen Oblast, Turkmenia, Azerbaijan, and other regions in the country. The number of followers of Gvozdev, Potapov, and Sidoreyko is growing among metallurgy workers and machine builders, in the timber and textile industries, in construction and transportation, and in other sectors of the national economy. The whole country knows of the glorious deeds by machine builders Vladimir Chicherov and Vladimir Yazygin, metallurgy worker Vasiliy Naumkin, textile worker Valentina Pletneva, lumberman Pavel Popov, agro-industrial complex workers Natalya Geilert, Nina Pereverzeva, and Leyda Peyps, and many others of our remarkable working people who are setting an example of labor valor and lofty workers' responsibility, a specific example of supporting by deeds the party's decision to accelerate the development of the country's economy.

Allow me, on behalf of the congress, to express profound gratitude to all front-rankers and innovators in production, who head the socialist competition for successful fulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan targets and have scored successes in fulfilling their socialist pledges.

It is necessary to continue the restructuring of the organization of socialist competition and to conduct it even more persistently and energetically, bearing in mind the important reflections on the nature of socialist competition in modern conditions which were expressed by M.S. Gorbachev at the meeting with Stakhanovite movement veterans and front-rankers and innovators in production in the CPSU Central Committee and during his other meetings with working people and aktiv members.

Competition must be oriented more toward achieving maximum production efficiency, in particular greater labor productivity, mandatory performance of contractual deliveries, and more swift solution of social questions.

The competition for /savings in material resources/ must be more effective. The trade unions have launched an important drive to ensure that every collective works for 2 or more days each year on saved materials, raw materials, fuel, and electricity. In the last few years this goal has been reached by about 40,000 enterprises. Relying on accumulated experience, we must aim at ensuring that this task is set and resolved by every production collective, every shop, and every team.

The role of socialist competition must be felt particularly strongly today in the struggle for fundamental improvement of /the quality of output produced./ The proportion of basic output corresponding with world standards must be increased to 80-85 percent by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, and the same proportion of newly assimilated products to virtually 100 percent. This is a paramount national economic task.

/State acceptance of output/ was introduced in many enterprises starting this year. It is a serious test for both economic cadres and trade union committees, a check on their ability to improve output quality in practice. By no means all of them pass this test.

Justified dissatisfaction has developed within labor collectives wherever the introduction of state acceptance has been treated in an irresponsible fashion and preparation for it has been inadequate. Workers fully support state acceptance and they are not afraid of it, but they are justified in demanding the imposition of order in the organization of production and in material and technical backing. Ministry, association, and enterprise leaders must find an efficient solution to these questions, while trade union organs must be more demanding toward them.

The role of /competition between partners/ both within enterprises and among suppliers of materials and components must be boosted on the "workers' baton" principle. Following the example of trade union organizations in Belorussia and Latvia, the trade union committees take in hand the creation of /quality groups and circles/ in all enterprises, show constant concern for the improvement of workers' skills, organize contests, and set up schools for vocational skills on the base of front-ranking enterprises and teams. It seems we ought to revive on a new basis the competition for the titles of profession's best and "master with golden hands," which have been undeservedly forgotten in the recent past. Better use must be made of incentive measures for good-quality labor and public influence on slipshod workers.

With a view to raising labor productivity, saving material resources, and increasing the output of necessary and good-quality products, labor collectives must be comprehensively encouraged to adopt intensive /counterplans/, which are the supreme form of socialist pledges. Now that stability of targets for each year of the 5-year plan has been ensured and a new procedure for counterplan incentives has been adopted at our request -- a procedure that is advantageous to both the state and the collectives -- they are becoming an efficient lever for the activation of production reserves. All labor collectives must have their own work counterplan. We perceive this as one of the important tasks of trade unions.

I would like to stress in particular the need to improve the leadership of socialist competition by trade union central committees. Faster restructuring of work in this regard is required from the central committees of the Heavy Machine Building Workers Union (Chairman Comrade N.I. Zinovyev), the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers Union (Comrade A.M. Yakovlev), the Petroleum and Gas Industry Workers Union (Comrade V.T. Sedenko), the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers Union (Comrade V.K. Borodin), the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Union (Comrade M.B. Ryzhikov), and some others.

We cannot fail to see there still are many major shortcomings, formalism, and excessive organization in analyzing the results of competition. Various reasons and excuses were found each year to deviate from the conditions of competition when analyzing the results and to indulge collectives, krays, oblasts, and even republics which had failed to fulfill not only their pledges but even individual plan indicators in full. As a result of this, competition winners included collectives which were, in fact, no examples of intensive social production development. The AUCCTU was frequently to blame for this.

The party Central Committee was justified in correcting us on these matters. The results of the 1986 all-union socialist competition will be analyzed strictly in accordance with the established rules of competition. This is how it must be from now on at all levels, both centrally and locally.

The importance of moral incentives for competition must be significantly enhanced. For years on end we have been using the same old forms of incentive. By now very few people are bothered with the poorly presented "Scrolls of Honor," banners, and diplomas which are manufactured in their millions for sale through the retail trade network. Primitively made boards of honor can be encountered every day. It seems that improvement is needed in the practice of awarding state prizes to working people. Mass prize awards for 5-year plan results and on other occasions seem to devalue the merits of front-rankers and innovators in production and diminish the incentive role of awards. At times labor collectives learn about the award of prizes to their work comrades only through the press. It is perfectly clear that labor collectives must play a greater role in this work.

The weakest link in the organization of competition is still /the dissemination of front-ranking production experience./ Quite often this work involves nothing more than the adoption of joint decisions by ministries and trade union central committees.

A particularly great role in the dissemination, transmission, and introduction of the best experience is played by our remarkable front-rankers, innovators, and talented production organizers -- seekers boldly embarking on the resolute demolition of obsolete technologies and forms of labor organization, always ready to assist their work comrades.

Hero of Socialist Labor Aleksandr Ageyevich Belik from the "Pavlogradugol" Association has transferred on 12 occasions to laggard miners' teams. On every one of these occasions he managed to enthuse people, make them believe in their own strength, and overcome the lagging. Foreman Galina Garanova from the Smolensk knitwear factory has headed laggard collectives on six occasions in the last 12 years. The same self-sacrifice and selflessness have been displayed by Hero of Socialist Labor Yuriy Zavyalov, lumberman from Novgorod Oblast; Davlat Karimov, leader of a field crop growing team on Kulyab Oblast's V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz; Boris Semenov, leader of a drift miners' team at the Leninogori polymetallic combine; and many others.

We must make very broad and full use of their example and experience, of such people's enormous moral and organizing strength to pull the laggards up to the level of front-rankers.

The questions of further improving the organization of competition must be the focus of attention for trade union and economic organs at all levels. We expect specific elaborations on these problems from our science, and particularly from the USSR Academy

of Sciences Scientific Council and the AUCCTU. It is our common task to ensure closer ties between competition and the specific conditions of production, the new conditions of economic management, financial autonomy, collective contracts, and self-capitalization, and to turn competition into an even more powerful and effective force of acceleration.

Comrades!

/Scientific and technical progress/ is the main lever for the intensification of the national economy and the basis for boosting its efficiency. Soviet trade unions totally support the party's course of accelerating it. In the socialist society it accords fully with the fundamental and vital interests of the working people, because it ensures fast growth of labor productivity and output quality and alleviates and fundamentally improves working and safety conditions. Moreover, it ensures full employment for working people, and no one is threatened by unemployment as they are in capitalist countries.

We must use all forms of our work to assist the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and make better use of /the mass technical creativity of working people/ for this purpose. The All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers which unites 14 million innovators in production and the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies which unites more than 12 million persons in 24 sector science and technology societies operate under the leadership of the trade unions. Their members include many talented representatives of the country's corps of scientists and engineers. During the last 5-year plan period the national economy utilized 186,000 inventions and about 20 million rationalization suggestions. The total savings from their introduction amounted to R36 billion. Each year the science and technology societies submit to planning and economic organs more than 1 million suggestions and recommendations for the development of science and technology and the solution of specific production problems and do much work on propagandizing innovations.

At the same time, comrades, it is perfectly clear the vast social scientific and technical potential is still being used in a totally inadequate fashion. The national economy has accumulated quite a few problems demanding the application of the creative energy of scientists, designers, engineers, inventors, and rationalizers. In many instances these problems either extend beyond the framework of the programs of existing specialized scientific research and planning and design organizations or wait for years for their turn to come in the long-term plans of these institutions. These problems are particularly numerous in the sphere of working conditions and labor organization, and this was raised in particular at the recently held congresses of sector trade unions.

One in every three industrial workers, one-half of construction industry workers, and two-thirds of workers in agriculture are still engaged in manual, unskilled, and at times hard physical labor. Foundry shops, track work in railroad transport, lumbering, municipal services, and trade have been waiting for decades for the time when they would finally and properly enjoy the fruits of scientific and technical progress. Is it possible that the inventors and rationalizers and the science and technology societies are in no position to undertake the elaboration of many of these problems? Of course they are! To do this they must approach the fulfillment of their social obligations with greater responsibility.

A good example in this respect is being set by Kharkov Oblast's Trade Union Council and Science and Technology Society Council. They organize so-called "Scientific and Technical Idea Fairs," at which science and technology society organizations exhibit

any scientific and technical elaborations completed by them, while enterprises submit their requirements regarding the solution of specific production problems. Temporary creative collectives consisting of scientists and production workers are created there, working on contracts with enterprises on the basis of financial autonomy. Science and technology society organizations in Leningrad Oblast participate actively in the implementation of measures under the "Intensification-90" Program. Some science and technology society councils have undertaken the scientific and engineering backing of the technical reconstruction and retooling of production units planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan period.

These are examples of a specific, businesslike approach to restructuring work and augmenting the contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It is incumbent on the AUCCTU, together with the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers Central Council, and trade union central committees and councils, to comprehensively support and disseminate such experience.

Now the country has about 5,000 primary /trade union organizations operating in scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and VUZ's./ They represent a major and very important detachment of our organization's members, but many trade union committees in scientific research institutes and design bureaus restrict their activity basically to social questions and avoid participating in the solution of production and creative problems. This is why the serious restructuring of their work and the stronger leadership of these committees by trade union central committees and councils constitute an immediate task at present.

I would like to dwell in particular on /the problem of the introduction of scientific and technical innovations,/ inventions, and rationalization suggestions. It is intolerable that in the recent past only one-third of inventions developed each year in the country have been embodied in new equipment, technology, or consumer goods, and as a result of this the state and our society suffer enormous losses. Here are some graphic examples of this.

A group of associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Chemical Physics Institute created a technology of self-propagating high-temperature synthesis, which ensures the availability of new materials and articles made from them with predetermined physical and chemical qualities, involves more than 300 major inventions, and could produce annual savings of at least R1.5 billion. It would seem the advantages of this technology are obvious. Nonetheless, it took more than 15 years for the introduction of this invention to finally make headway recently, literally a few months ago, and for the relevant ministries to be given plan targets for the manufacture of output using the new technology.

A similar fate befell radiation technologies created by scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Section's Nuclear Physics Institute, which were also based on numerous inventions. Their introduction would make it possible to save raw materials in extremely short supply, to substantially enhance the reliability and quality of output produced, and result in annual savings of at least R1 billion. Even so, it took many years before the invention was accepted for introduction as a result of great public pressure.

The AUCCTU and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers had to make enormous efforts for the introduction of such most valuable inventions as new brands of tungsten-free high-speed steels, hardening agents based on the PK-2 polymer, new highly efficient rolling bearings with antifriction filling, light fittings with slotted light guides, and many others.

Here is a perfectly legitimate question. Who is responsible for the fact that delays in the introduction of such important and efficient developments systematically inflict damage on the country, running to billions of rubles?

Some ministries make reference to the lack of capacities for the manufacture of new output based on the latest inventions, but this is no justification. It appears there are capacities for the manufacture of obsolete output, but there are none for new and advanced output. In our view, the stance taken by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, and the USSR Gosplan is not assertive enough.

The Interdepartmental Commission for the Review and Introduction of Especially Important Inventions, created 2 years ago under the USSR Gosplan at the AUCCTU's initiative, is still making inadequate use of the powers vested in it. It has failed to erect a reliable barrier against bureaucracy and red tape in the utilization of inventions. In our opinion, the time has come to impose by law the most severe sanctions against organizations and workers, regardless of the office they hold, who are guilty of red-tape attitudes, mismanagement of society's intellectual potential, and any consequent economic damage to the country and the people.

What we need is a fundamentally new and precise machinery for the management of the introduction of inventions in the country, containing both economic and organizational levers. The time has finally come to complete the elaboration of the law on invention activity -- a law which would further the development of working people's scientific and technical creativity and would reliably protect the interests of inventors and rationalizers. A more demanding and principled stance must be taken on these questions by the AUCCTU, sector trade union central committees, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers Central Council, and the All-Union Council of Science and Technology Societies.

All mass production work by trade unions now requires more than ever bold and innovative approaches, new forms and methods for the encouragement of socialist enterprise, and comprehensive development of the initiative and the labor and social activeness of the masses.

It is a matter of honor and responsibility for trade unions to develop the mass socialist competition even more broadly for a fitting welcome to Great October's 70th anniversary and to mark this glorious holiday with new labor victories and specific acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

II. Tireless Attention and Concern by Trade Unions for Questions of Social Policy

Comrades! Social policy and the defense of working people's vital interests have always been and still remain in the forefront of Soviet trade unions. This in fact, as the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, is the basic meaning of trade unions' activity.

During the period under review, much attention was given in their work to the implementation of the social program planned for the 11th 5-year Plan period. The trade unions participated directly in the implementation of measures to improve wages, ensure better utilization of social consumption funds, and improve the conditions of working people's labor, daily life, and leisure. The growth of real per capita incomes during the 5-year plan period amounted to 11 percent. The average monthly wages of workers and employees increased by 12.5 percent and payments to kolkhoz members in public sector farming increased by 29 percent.

The materials distributed to delegates contain detailed information on the work done on social questions. If we assess this work self-critically from the positions of the party congress and CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions, we must draw the conclusion that the AUCCTU and other trade union organs should bear a considerable part of responsibility for the negative processes developing in the social sphere, for the fact that the economy's social orientation in the last few 5-year plan periods was clearly inadequate. The trade union slackened their monitoring and organizational activity in relation to the utilization of funds allocated for social purposes and of the potential of sectors, enterprises, organizations, and the trade unions themselves in this sphere. The solution of many urgent problems, including the housing problems, was not energetic enough. The policy of material incentives for highly productive labor, which also depended largely on the trade unions, was inconsistent. Their passivity in the solution of social and consumer services questions suited the economic managers for whom output is at times more important than people. The effect of the inertia of many trade union cadres and their inability to act in the new fashion under the conditions of expanding economic independence for enterprises was felt in this area perhaps more than anywhere else.

The AUCCTU recently took measures to boost the activeness of trade union central committees and councils and of all trade union organizations in the solution of social development tasks and the better satisfaction of working people's needs. The restructuring along this most important avenue must proceed much more decisively.

The trade unions must persistently aim for the implementation of the social policy laid down by the 27th CPSU Congress. The scaling of the economic heights planned for the year 2000 will make it possible to raise the people's prosperity to a qualitatively new level and to double the volume of resources channeled into the improvement of living conditions. Real per capita incomes will increase by 14 percent even in the current 5-year plan period. Almost R500 billion, or one-half of all capital investment in the national economy, will be channeled into the development of the agro-industrial complex, the expansion of the production of consumer goods and paid services, and the construction of social, cultural, housing, and municipal projects. Virtually all strata of the population will be included in measures to raise incomes.

The state plan for the country's economic and social development in the current year has a clearly expressed social orientation. In parallel with the improvement of work payments and other measures to raise Soviet people's living standards, the plan sets higher targets than the 5-year plan as a whole for the volume of construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, schools, hospitals and polyclinics, culture and sports institutions, and other social projects. Never before have such considerable material resources been appropriated for the development of the entire social and cultural sphere.

This social program, the largest in our country's history, best reflects the tireless concern of the party and the Soviet state for the people's well-being.

I would like to note with gratification that, when elaborating measures for the period through the year 2000 and the 12th 5-Year Plan, the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers supported the trade unions' proposals aimed at improving the material position, labor conditions and safety, and housing, consumer services, and cultural services for working people, and at solving numerous other social problems.

The trade unions perceive it as their task to ensure the consistent implementation of the priority development of the social sphere and the increasingly full satisfaction of Soviet people's needs for good conditions for work, daily life, rest, education, and medical care. They must be more insistent whenever the issue concerns the satisfaction of working people's legitimate material and cultural demands, and must aim for the elevation of honest and highly productive labor, the elimination of trends toward leveling in its remuneration, and the implementation of the principle of social justice.

These tasks are dictated to us by restructuring.

Improving the Organization of Work Payment, Making Sensible Use of Social Consumption Funds, and Playing an Active Part in Price Formation [subhead]

It is necessary above all to impose order in /the material incentives for working people/ for the end results of labor. The slackening of the entire system of material incentives for workers and the notorious "wage padding" have had a negative effect not only on attitudes to work but also, to a certain extent, on the pace of the country's economic development and the growth of labor productivity in the most important sectors. Salaries and wages in the production sphere were last increased in 1969-1972. They are now out of date. Major shortcomings have accumulated in norm setting. Discrepancies have developed in work payment among individual sectors of the national economy and regions of the country and among different categories of working people. There has been an unjustified alignment of wage levels for highly skilled and unskilled workers and for specialists, and the prestige of engineering work has declined.

All this demands that trade unions should tackle the questions of work payment and the correction of the prevailing situation most seriously. As you know, last September the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU adopted a resolution "On Improving the Organization of Wages and Introducing New Wage Rates and Salary Scales for Workers in Production Sectors of the National Economy." It contains major measures of enormous political, social, and economic importance. They will affect the vital interests of 75 million working people. It is intended to raise wage rates for workers by an average of 20-25 percent and salary scales for leaders, specialists, and employees by 30-35 percent. All components of wages are being restructured, including bonuses, supplements, and additional payments. Remuneration and bonus payments will acquire an increasingly collectivist nature. It is of fundamental importance to ensure all new elements in material incentives be financed from funds earned by the labor collectives themselves. This is why the implementation of the planned measures demands comprehensive preparatory economic and organizational work by both economic and trade union organizations. The experience of the Belorussian Railroad collectives proves how important it is to rely directly on workers and employees and to organize a broad discussion of measures being implemented at each production section, at all stages of preparations for transition to the new work payment terms.

Special attention must be given to questions concerning the improvement of labor norm setting, taking into account any changes that may have occurred in equipment, technology, and production organization. A new system of bonus payments to workers, leaders, specialists, and employees came into operation this year, which considerably expands the labor collectives' rights in this sphere. Trade union committees must show some concern for ensuring that bonus payments are determined under conditions of broad publicity and that every worker understands where the bonus rubles come from.

Measures are being implemented at present to improve payment for workers in scientific research and planning and design organizations. The salary increases for workers in national education will be completed this year. A gradual increase in salaries and wages for health care and social security workers by an average of more than 35 percent began in November last year. It is also planned to undertake a substantial increase of salaries for workers in higher education, culture, and art in the current 5-year plan period.

Questions of workers' and employees' wages have always occupied an important position in trade unions' work. Now they are acquiring particularly great importance. Trade union central committees and councils and trade union organizations in enterprises and associations must make full and proper use of their powers in the work payment sphere and must guarantee correct approaches to the determination of pay levels -- wage rates, salary scales, bonuses, and supplements -- and the review of norms and normatives for labor expenditure. All these issues require daily, efficient monitoring.

In this context we cannot fail to note the irresponsible attitude of the Medical Workers Union Central Committee (Comrade L.I. Novak), which failed to take the necessary measures and did not exercise its rights even when red tape and bureaucracy at the USSR Ministry of Health delayed the implementation of the planned and announced increase of salaries for health care workers.

The essence of the incipient profound transformations in work payment is to create, in parallel with wage increases, the necessary conditions for making wages consistently and everywhere strictly dependent on the quantity, quality, and end results of work. We must wage a most resolute struggle against any manifestations of leveling or distortions of the fundamental principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor."

Questions concerning the more fair utilization of /social consumption funds/ were raised in the course of the report and election campaign which preceded our congress. The amounts in these funds are steadily growing: They reached R152.5 billion in 1986, and they account for about one-third of all material benefits and services consumed by the population. Preferential growth of social consumption funds over wage increases is guaranteed. A growing proportion of each Soviet person's needs is satisfied at the cost of society as a whole. This brings to the forefront questions concerning social justice in the utilization of social funds. The AUCCTU and the trade union councils and committees must tackle this problem in greater depth and must participate most directly in the implementation of measures aimed at the swiftest possible overcoming of lagging and equalization of conditions for the use of services paid from social funds by urban and rural populations, residents in different economic regions, and working people in large, medium, and small enterprises.

The growth of social consumption funds planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan period will assist in /the liquidation of inadequate provisions for individual groups of the population./ By the end of the 5-year plan period there will be virtually no families with an average monthly per capita income of less than R50.

Much additional work could be done by labor collectives themselves and the trade union organizations to assist large families. We do have experience in this. For example, a whole series of trade union committees in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast have compiled registers of large families and are showing concern to improve the skills of working members of these families and to organize home work. Much is being done there to create conditions for children's leisure, the trade system gives assistance in the acquisition of primary necessities, and so on.

The country's trade union organizations must show an identical concern for all low-income families, especially when they are also large. We are not talking about charity work but primarily about specific assistance to such families to increase their work incomes.

Social consumption funds must ensure greater advantages for workers who are consistently making the largest contribution to the collective results of labor.

Take for example /the question of leave entitlement for workers and employees./ The current leave system has developed on the basis of numerous normative acts issued at different stages of our country's development. At present, and in addition to basic leave, there are more than 30 different provisions for extended and additional leave entitlement in respect to harmful working conditions, extra work days, long service, social work, and so on. Even so, many workers still enjoy leave of only the minimum 15 working days' duration.

The current legislation on leave entitlement is out-of-date and no longer meets the demands of the time. Leave entitlement is not properly linked to workers' length of service and labor contribution.

In the AUCCTU's opinion, there is a pressing need to elaborate, within the current 5-year plan period, a new law on workers' and employees' leave entitlement, to include also an extension of the minimum leave entitlement.

The organization of effective monitoring of the efficient utilization of all sums in the social consumption funds and the ensuring of broad publicity in this work constitute an important avenue of work by trade unions under present conditions and a good school for self-management for labor collectives.

One of the most important objectives of our entire economic and social policy is to improve supplies of foodstuffs for the population and /to implement the food program./ As a result of efforts by the party and working people in the country's agro-industrial complex, state purchases in 1986 compared with 1981 increased by 24 percent for livestock and poultry, 29 percent for milk, and 18.7 percent for eggs. Stockraising has been steadily developing for 4 years. The gross grain harvest in the first year of the current 5-year plan period exceeded by almost 30 million metric tons the average annual volume of grain production during the 11th 5-Year Plan period.

In parallel with constant concern for further boosting the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy and developing the country's entire agro-industrial complex, it is also necessary to activate such reserves for improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population as /the development of enterprises' subsidiary farms, the population's personal subsidiary farms, and collective truck and orchard gardening./ The organizing role of trade unions in production sectors must be displayed in particular in this area.

The number of subsidiary farms increased 2.5 times during the 11th 5-Year Plan period. They have more than doubled meat production, and the production of milk, potatoes, and vegetables has increased considerably.

An active stance in the development of subsidiary farms has been taken by the central committees of the trade unions of workers in the metallurgical, oil and gas, and timber, paper, and wood processing industries. They conduct this work steadily and are persistently striving to ensure that each industrial enterprise has its own subsidiary farm.

A completely opposite state of affairs prevails at enterprises under the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and Bryansk, Tula, Voronezh, Kuybyshev, and Tambov Oblasts. The corresponding trade union central committees and councils are fully responsible for this.

The AUCCTU considers it perfectly realistic to complete during the current 5-year plan period the creation of subsidiary farms under all enterprises capable of running them, so that in 1990 each worker in industrial sectors receives from such farms an average of at least 15-25 kg of meat and 50 kg of milk. We will consider the attainment of this goal our trade union duty, our specific contribution to the solution of the Food Program.

Trade union organizations must give tireless attention to questions concerning the further development of collective market gardening. During the current 5-year plan period, the party Central Committee, the government, and the AUCCTU plan an annual increase of 1-1.2 million in the number of market garden plots for the families of workers and employees. The implementation of this task required great effort in 1986, and in many cases it became necessary to overcome inertia and even direct resistance by some local organs regarding the allocation of land and the provision of assistance to market gardening cooperatives to set them up. The AUCCTU and the trade union councils and committees must display greater principle and professional efficiency in solving the related questions, and they must look on collective market gardening as an important form for organizing healthy leisure and rest for working people and members of their families and satisfying of their interests.

Trade union organizations must participate more actively in the fulfillment of /the comprehensive program for the development of consumer goods production/ and the services sphere in 1986-2000. The plan for practical actions by trade unions for the implementation of tasks stemming from this program, which was adopted by the AUCCTU, is not being fulfilled by all trade union organs. Between 18 and 35 percent of enterprises located in the RSFSR and the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics have still not embarked on the production of goods for the populations. The volume, and especially the quality, of goods produced is below the potential of enterprises in the construction materials industry, the electrical engineering and radio industries, and several other sectors. The committees of the Radio and Electronics Industry Workers Union, the Machine Building and Instrument Making Workers Union, and the Automobile, Tractor, and Agricultural Machine Building Workers Union, together with the economic organs, are doing clearly insufficient work to mobilize labor collectives for the fulfillment of trade orders in terms of the range and quality of output produced.

Last year saw certain positive developments in bringing consumer services closer to working people's place of work and in expanding paid services for workers and employees. Enterprises, organizations, and institutions have opened about 15,000 consumer services centers, comprehensive reception points, studios, and workshops, and mobile forms of services are being developed.

Nonetheless, consumer services for working people are available only at one-fourth of all enterprises.

Until quite recently there were dozens of different instructions and regulations prohibiting economic leaders from supplying paid consumer services -- using their workforce for apartment repairs, authorizing the use of plant transport, and so on and so forth. All this was "not allowed."

Now all these bans have been lifted. However, the situation is changing much too slowly. Inertia, economic managers' unwillingness to take on unnecessary bother, and the conciliatoriness and passivity of trade union committees at times totally eliminate any opportunities to show concern for the immediate needs of workers and employees and force them, as before, to seek other, sometimes illegal ways to resolve any consumer service problems that may arise.

It is incumbent on trade union organizations to ensure that every enterprise offers consumer services to working people. Specific questions involving the provision of services and the production of goods for the population must be accurately defined in agreements with economic organs and in collective contracts.

It is well known that the working people's material prosperity is inseparately linked with the state of /price formation for goods and rates of charges for services./ The AUCCTU shares the retail price policy elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress and is guided by it in its practical activity.

The prices of some prime necessities and cultural and domestic goods were reduced during the period under review. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers backed the AUCCTU's proposals to reduce the prices of children's goods and medicines and to impose the necessary order in future price formation for these goods.

Industry was asked to produce the necessary volume of goods bearing in mind the demand from families at different levels of income. There was, however, also an increase in prices for some new goods without any corresponding change in their consumer qualities. The price formation organs, including the USSR State Committee for Prices, far from always blocked attempts by various economic managers to set a higher price by any means for "their" goods. Under these conditions, it must be emphasized yet again that strict state order must be observed in questions of price formation.

It is also necessary to significantly raise the level of trade unions' work in the organization of monitoring of the correct formation and application of retail prices and rates. Local inspections reveal mass violations. Increased prices or rates, cheating, and underpacking of products were revealed in one enterprise in two inspected jointly with price formation organs in the trade network in Turkmenia, the public catering sphere in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Kirghizia, the consumer services sphere in Georgia, Moldavia, and Tajikistan, and even in many schools and children's preschool institutions. We are entitled to ask: Where is our trade union, public, and workers' monitoring?

Active trade union participation in the solution of tasks involving the formation of retail prices and charges and stepped-up public and workers' monitoring in this sphere constitutes one of the important economic and social functions of trade union organizations. We must perform it with a sense of lofty responsibility to the working people.

Accelerated Solution of the Housing Problem -- A Matter for the Whole People [subhead]

It is well known that much work is being done in our country on housing construction. Total housing stock has doubled in the last 20 years. More than 80 percent of the urban population now live in self-contained, well-appointed apartments. The program for the social transformation of the countryside is being successfully implemented. All this represents a major gain for our people.

At the same time, the housing problem still remains acute and continues to perturb many working people's families. The party has set the task of ensuring that by the year 2000 virtually every family has a separate apartment or individual home. It is planned to build 595 million square meters of housing in this 12th 5-Year Plan period. Housing construction has never before reached such a scale in our country.

Many labor collectives and trade union organizations responded actively to the party's call to make the faster solution of the housing problem a matter for the whole people and to implement specific measures to bring the time nearer when all workers will be supplied with well-appointed apartments.

The CPSU Central Committee and the AUCCTU approved the initiative and experience of the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant labor collective, which planned to solve this task by 1995. The Gorkiy people's initiative was supported by Balakovo's "Khimvolokno" Production Association, the "Bryanskselmash" Plant, the Kursk leather plant, and enterprises and organizations in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast's Pokrovskiy Rayon. The collectives of Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast's "Prikarpatles" Production Association and Belgorod's "Avtoremgormash" Plant pledged to solve the housing problem earlier still -- by 1990.

Party, economic, and trade union organizations in Ulyanovsk Oblast elaborated and are successfully implementing a regional program aimed at supplying by 1990 separate apartments to all citizens of the oblast who needed them at the start of the 5-year plan period.

Other sound initiatives can be listed.

Relying on initiative originating from below, the AUCCTU determined the forms of participation by labor collectives and trade union organizations in accelerating the solution of the housing problem. The 11th AUCCTU Plenum recommended that more assistance be given to construction organizations, that own-resources housing construction be expanded, that at least one-half of all funds for social and cultural measures be channeled for this purpose, and that full use be made of the opportunity to build housing financed by 10 percent of the funds allocated for production construction.

Trade union committees have been instructed to render maximum assistance to the construction of individual and cooperative housing and young people's housing complexes and to allocate more resources from enterprises' incentives funds for giving material assistance to people building their own homes and members of housing construction cooperatives.

It must be said, however, many trade union committees are still making totally inadequate use of these and other opportunities to accelerate the solution of the housing problem. Little initiative is being shown in this work particularly by trade union organizations in Ryazan, Kaliningrad, and Smolensk Oblasts.

Trade unions must resolutely step up their monitoring of the prompt commissioning of literally every single home. We can no longer tolerate the state plans for housing construction being systematically wrecked, year in and year out, by many ministries, departments, and construction organizations.

During the last 6 years, the housing construction plans were not fulfilled in one single year by the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and

Household Appliances, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. Tens of thousands of working people in these sectors have been unable to acquire well-appointed apartments.

Under these circumstances, the AUCCTU has severely punished individual deputy ministers and other leaders who were failing to live up to the assurances they had given, to impose order in housing construction, or to show the proper concern for working people's social needs.

More rigorous demands in this regard must also be made of the corresponding trade union central committees and councils. After all, the Uzbek and Tajik republic trade union councils and the Tula, Chita, and Rostov Oblast trade union councils are much to blame for the fact that plans for the construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, schools, and other social, cultural, and consumer services projects are being systematically wrecked in the regions year in and year out. Recently the AUCCTU strengthened the leadership of some trade union councils as a result of, among other things, inadequate organizational work in this area.

The Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers Union Central Committee must show a more responsible attitude to its obligations in ensuring the fulfillment of plans for commissioning housing. Construction organizations belonging to the trade union perform the greater part of the entire housing construction program, and it is incumbent on them to make better use of their considerable existing reserves to ensure that they build more and better without thwarting the fulfillment of targets.

Recently the collective of Vladivostok's housing construction combine under the Ministry of Construction in the Far East and Transbaykal Regions resolved to increase the output of a new series of homes 1.5 times through retooling and reconstruction using the same production area.

Specific work must be done in every housing construction collective to ensure the broadest possible support for the initiative of workers in the Far East. It is intolerable that, given such a need for housing, even among construction workers themselves, only 80 percent of the capacities of housing construction enterprises should be utilized.

Great importance for the accelerated solution of the housing problem also attaches to the better utilization of existing housing stock, its correct distribution, and the strict observance of Soviet laws and the principle of social justice in this sphere. Trade union committees have at their disposal major powers in this regard. Unfortunately, however, they do not make full use of these powers in many instances, tolerate all sorts of violations, and at times even commit violations themselves.

Recently the AUCCTU organized an inspection at 14,000 enterprises. This brought to light quite a few instances of breaches of housing legislation and various deviations from established procedures. Moreover, in most cases they were committed with the complicity of trade union committees, as a result of lack of principle in trade union committee chairmen and an absence of collegiality and openness. More than 500 economic and trade union leaders were taken to task last year for violations committed in the distribution of housing. About 100 of them were released from the office they held and more than 1,000 apartment allocation orders were ruled ineffective.

In the course of the report and election campaign working people submitted through the pages of TRUD many proposals concerning the improvement of housing laws, the procedure for determining priorities in apartment allocation, payments for surplus housing area, and simplification of the housing exchange procedure. It is incumbent on the AUCCTU, together with the appropriate state organs, to carefully examine these proposals. As the party congress noted, these questions must be solved on a broad democratic basis and under constant public monitoring.

Concern for Better Working Conditions Is A Most Important Task of Trade Unions [subhead]

In the process of implementing their protective functions, the trade unions display constant concern for the creation of /healthy and safe conditions for highly productive wo·k at all enterprises and in all sectors of the national economy./ In this work we constantly sense the great assistance and support of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government.

During the period under review, work places for an additional 15 million persons were brought in line with normatives governing noise, vibration, light, dust, and gas levels. The pace of the mechanization of manual labor more than doubled. The number of workers engaged in heavy physical work in industry was halved. Industrial injuries in the national economy fell by 20 percent and the incidence of occupational diseases by 26 percent. Each year 95 percent of construction and transportation organizations operated without any serious accidents. Expenditure on labor safety increased by 20 percent in comparison with the 10th 5-Year Plan period and amounted to R24 billion.

As you can see, much has been done, but so far there have been no sharp changes in the state of affairs, no breakthrough in the attitude of economic cadres and trade union committees toward questions of ensuring safety in production.

The level of industrial injuries is falling extremely slowly at enterprises and organizations under the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, several construction ministries, and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. There has been no decline in accidents on the railroad, motor vehicles, and water transport. The number of serious accidents increased at enterprises and construction sites under the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and the USSR Ministry of Communications. The incidence of serious industrial injuries also increased in the Azerbaijan and Georgian SSR's, in Donetsk, Minsk, and Tyumen Oblasts, in Stavropol Kray, and in Moscow city.

Investigation of accidents and mishaps shows they are caused mainly by poor standards of labor and production discipline, slackness, gross violations of technologies, norms, and equipment safety rules, and irresponsible and at times even criminally negligent attitudes on the part of individual leaders and specialists to the performance of their official duties regarding labor safety.

This was proven by major accidents at Chernobyl AES, in railroad and water transport, and at coal mines, as well as by numerous serious accidents.

Last year alone, the trade union technical inspectorate was forced to suspend the operations of 170 enterprises and a large number of shops and sections.

It is a highly worrisome fact that numerous machine building enterprises design and produce new machines and devices involving many deviations from the demands of safety standards. In this context, the AUCCTU and the State Committee for Standards inspected 2,000 machine and device models in series production by 12 ministries. Only 120 of them, or 6 percent, fully complied with the demands of labor safety standards. The production of 350 types of machines and equipment was stopped at our demand in the last 2 years. They lacked reliable safety devices and automatic control means and had caused injuries to workers, including serious injuries.

A significant proportion of work places in the chemical, metallurgical, light, and shipbuilding industries and in machine building still do not meet normatives for dust and gas pollution of the atmosphere, noise, vibration, and light. The provision of sanitary and consumer service premises meets the norm at far from all enterprises.

It is absolutely intolerable that individual ministries commission new production units before completing labor safety work. For example, just before a state commission accepted the country's largest blast furnace -- the Cherepovets metallurgical combine's No 5 furnace -- Ministers V.V. Kolpakov, S.V. Bashilov, and B.V. Bakin deleted from the commissioning schedule a number of important work items concerning the provision of necessary sanitary and consumer services conditions. Such instances result in justified complaints from workers.

It is necessary to draw the attention of ministry and department leaders again to the unsatisfactory organization of labor safety work at enterprises under their jurisdiction, and to demand the immediate implementation of measures to eliminate the major shortcomings existing in this work.

In our opinion, accident and injury prevention work must be considerably stepped up by the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision, the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry, and the sector supervision services.

At the same time the AUCCTU, its Labor Safety Section, and the trade union central committees and councils must also draw principled conclusions. The standards of their organizational work and the exercise of their rights in the sphere of protecting working people's health and lives are not up to the prevailing situation. For example, having initiated the elaboration of a comprehensive labor safety management system, whose high efficiency has been proven in practice, we are not doing enough for its introduction. In many sectors this system exists only either on paper or in the imagination of trade union central committee and ministry leaders.

Numerous labor collectives have not created an atmosphere of implacability toward all violations of the norms and demands of labor safety and safety equipment. Gross violations of technological and production discipline are often committed before the very eyes of foremen and team leaders, trade union group organizers, or public labor safety inspectors and right in front of work comrades. Trade union committees are slack in organizing work on the broad dissemination of the initiative of Moscow construction workers teams and Karaganda miners, who have pledged to work without injuries or accidents.

The AUCCTU looks for the backing of the congress for more resolute measures by all trade union and economic organs, aimed at ensuring fundamental changes in the area of labor and achieving the acceleration which is extremely necessary along this most important avenue of the country's socioeconomic development.

It is a perfectly feasible task to bring working conditions at all work places in line with current normatives and double the pace of eliminating hard physical labor within the current 5-year plan; to ensure that machines and equipment whose operation creates conditions for potential injuries are withdrawn from production; and to secure broad dissemination of the initiative of teams and enterprise collectives working without industrial injuries.

Trade union committees and the administrations must, within the current year, fully resolve the task of supplying all working people with hot food and sanitary and consumer services premises, make sure of exemplary order, comfort, and convenience in such premises, and improve supplies of special clothing, footwear, and other personal protection means for working people.

The AUCCTU and the trade union central committees must aim to ensure the manufacture of totally safe equipment, step up the proper demandingness toward producers and designers, and rely more on the achievements of science. Research in the sphere of safety and improved working conditions is now conducted by 6 labor safety institutes under the AUCCTU and around 800 specialized scientific research organizations, laboratories, and VUZ labor safety departments employing 22,000 scientific workers and specialists. It is within their power to solve the tasks of creating totally safe equipment and technologies, efficient means of protection against the effect on people of monotonous work, emotional stress, and other factors linked with production mechanization and automation, methods for forecasting potential accident situations in production, and ways of preventing them.

It is absolutely essential for trade union organizations and their leading organs at all levels to resolutely change their attitude to questions of /environmental protection/ and the implementation of environmental protection measures. Specific measures for participation in the solution of this most important statewide and nationwide task must be defined in agreements between trade union central committees and ministries and in collective contracts.

The 27th CPSU Congress was quite justified in reproaching the trade unions for always failing to display militant purpose and persistence where the /protection of working people's legal rights/ is concerned.

Indeed, numerous examples can be cited of poor performance by trade union committees and the labor legal inspectorate in discharging their functions and their professional and social duty to working people.

Illegal dismissals of workers and employees, violations of the work and rest time system, incorrect calculations of wages, and many other breaches still occur frequently at enterprises in the Uzbek and Kazakh republics and in Astrakhan, Donetsk, Chita, and several other oblasts. Failing to find protection in trade union organizations, working people turn to the courts and higher trade union organs for solutions to labor disputes.

All this is a direct indication that our trade unions' local juridical and legal service still operates unreliably, while at many enterprises it is simply disorganized. There are frequent instances of trade union leaders' resolving workers' complaints on their own account, at times displaying lack of principle and toadying to economic leaders.

So the major restructuring of all our work on the legal protection of working people still lies ahead, and we must embark on it immediately. Its center of gravity must be shifted directly to the primary trade union organizations. It is in the labor collectives that we must create an atmosphere precluding any possibility of workers' and employees' rights being violated. Every such violation must be publicized and resolutely condemned. Amendments to the current procedures for setting up /labor dispute commissions at enterprises/ would assist the more rigorous observance of working people's rights. In our opinion, these commissions ought to be elected by meetings of the labor collectives and should report back to these meetings on their work. Such a procedure will enhance the labor collective's role and the administration's responsibility in preventing the occurrence of reasons and conditions leading to breaches of labor legislation.

The network of /trade union public legal advice centers/ for providing legal assistance to working people was considerably expanded in the last few years. There are now more than 36,000 of them. In the near future, advice centers will be set up in all administrative regions of the country. The practical work of such advice centers, set up on an experimental basis in several oblasts, has proven worthwhile. Improvement is required in the work of trade union councils' legal inspectorates. They must give effective assistance to public advice centers.

We must launch on an even broader scale, using all the forms and means at trade unions' disposal, work /to improve working people's health/, prevent the incidence of illness, and thus reduce temporary inability to work. Experience in this work has been accumulated by trade union and economic organizations in Belorussia, Latvia, Sverdlovsk Oblast and at the Novolipetsk metallurgical combine and other enterprises. The trade union central committees and councils must ensure this experience is utilized in every sector and every enterprise.

The sector and territorial "health" programs must become the basic element in this work. They must give even more attention to the improvement of working conditions and the strengthening of the material base of industrial health care, and better use must be made of labor collectives' increased potential to ensure each major enterprise has its own medical and sanitary unit and its own sanatorium and dispensary facilities.

Special emphasis must be placed, Comrades, on the need to raise the standards of work to organize health care services for the working people.

The AUCCTU, soviet and party organs, and the press still receive numerous complaints about careless and at times even callous attitudes to patients by medical personnel or about inconvenient operating systems at medical institutions. There are frequent violations of the principle of giving preferential treatment to workers, especially those from smaller enterprises. Working people's letters express indignation at abuses by individual medical workers and at the fact that the state of some hospitals and polyclinics is below the level of current demands.

The AUCCTU hopes that the new leadership of the USSR Ministry of Health and local health care organs will take the necessary, more efficient measures to eliminate the aforementioned shortcomings and restructure the style and methods of their institutions' work in line with the party congress demands.

We cannot fail to voice serious complaints against the Medical Workers Union and its central, republic, kray, and oblast committees. The serious shortcomings existing in the organization of health care are due also to their inadequate influence on the state of affairs, the poor standards of educational work among medical personnel, and lack of demandingness toward leaders of this most important sector in the social sphere.

The trade union's Central Committee must draw the most serious conclusions from the critical observations, and it must improve its activity and raise the standards of its organizational and educational work among the 7-million strong army of health care workers.

Our common task is -- together with the USSR Ministry of Health, other ministries and departments, and local economic organs and on the basis of greater concern of the health of working people and members of their families -- to ensure during the current 5-year plan period a further reduction of at least 10-15 percent in working people's temporary inability to work, in other words to reduce the annual average loss of worktime per worker to 7.5-8 days. This will make it possible to reduce the state's expenditure on payments of benefits for temporary inability to work by R2-3 billion. This saving could be channeled into the further development of the material base of health care and the improvement of medical services for the population. Existing working experience proves this task is perfectly feasible and we can and must resolve it.

It is well known, Comrades, that the trade unions have been running /sanatorium and resort work/ in our country since 1960. The sum of R4 billion has been invested in the development of the network of trade union sanatoriums during this time, sanatorium and resort institutions with 364,000 places have been commissioned, the medical base of sanatoriums, boarding houses, and rest homes has been considerably strengthened, much has been done to ensure they are properly equipped, and the network of Young Pioneers' all-year specialized sanatorium camps has been reinstated.

The geographical parameters of trade union resorts have expanded substantially. In parallel with the major new sanatoriums commissioned in traditional, union-level resorts, new sanatorium complexes have opened in the Altay, in Maritime, Khabarovsk, and Krasnoyarsk Krays, in Sverdlovsk and other RSFSR oblasts, in the Ukrainian, Uzbek, Moldavian, and Lithuanian SSR's, and in other republics and oblasts. Water and mud treatment resorts have been built in Kiev, Minsk, Lipetsk, Magnitogorsk, Perm, Omsk, and some other cities. During the period under review, trade union sanatorium and resort institutions admitted 50.5 million persons for treatment and rest.

The development of the trade union sanatorium network can in no way be considered sufficient. Their capacity makes it possible to satisfy only 47 percent of the population's demands for resort treatment. Hence a most important task facing the trade unions: to speed up sanatorium and resort construction by all means, to construct not only along the Black Sea and Baltic coasts or the Crimea and the Caucasus, but also to considerably expand the creation of local sanatoriums in resort regions in the North, Siberia, the Far East, and other regions subject to intensive economic development, and thus to bring sanatorium facilities as near as possible to where working people live and work.

In this work, the trade unions count on assistance and support from local party, soviet, and economic organs and construction organizations.

In our view, there ought to be support for the proposals by trade union councils that they be given the right to centralize 5-7 percent of incoming trade union membership dues and to use these funds to finance the additional construction of local trade union sanatoriums, to fit out and improve facilities at our sanatoriums, and to supply them with modern equipment. The surplus funds held by trade union organizations will make it possible to do this without any loss in the financing of their activities.

Special concern must be shown for the expansion of specialized sanatoriums for parents and children and of plant rest centers, and for the further development of the network of sanatoriums and dispensaries.

In this context, there must be approval and support for the efforts of the Textile and Light Industry Workers Union Central Committee, which is energetically developing the network of sanatoriums and dispensaries in its sector where, as it is well known, women dominate the work force. The sector's enterprises now have 255 of these. The trade union central committee, together with the ministry, plans to build another 104 dispensaries by the end of the current 5-year plan period, including 72 financed by trade union funds.

We are entitled to expect the same initiative from all other trade unions and ministries.

Great importance attaches to the correct and rational /utilization of travel vouchers for sanatorium and resort treatment./ The current procedure for their distribution is out-of-date. It does not give sufficient consideration to specific features of different sectors or regions of the country and makes no provision for the preferential treatment of front-ranking labor collectives in the issue of travel vouchers. Travel vouchers frequently fall into the hands of loafers, drunkards, and violators of labor discipline. In many trade union organizations in the Tajik and Turkmen SSR's, in Astrakhan, Tyumen, and Orenburg Oblasts, and in Khabarovsk Kray they are distributed personally by trade union committee chairmen, and there is neither collegiality nor openness in this work. It even happens that some trade union officials issue travel vouchers to their personal acquaintances. This results in justified complaints from working people.

In the immediate future and taking into account the wishes expressed by workers, employees, and the trade union aktiv, the AUCCTU must most thoroughly examine and lay down procedures for the distribution and issue of travel vouchers for sanatorium and resort treatment or rest -- procedures fully in line with the demands of the present and the principles of social justice.

More Attention to Women Workers and War and Labor Veterans [subhead]

Soviet trade unions deem it one of their important tasks to /further step up concern for women/ and their working and daily living conditions and for the consolidation of the family. During the previous 5-year plan period, working conditions improved for 6.7 million women, 460,000 women workers were freed from the performance of hard physical work, and 273,000 women workers were freed from nighttime work.

A broad program of measures aimed at the consolidation of the socialist family and the creation of better conditions to combine motherhood with women's active participation in labor and social activity is planned for implementation during the 12th 5-Year Plan period. Mothers will be entitled to longer paid leave to look after children until the age of 18 months and will be entitled to additional unpaid leave for up to 6 months; maternity leave entitlement will be increased from 56 to 70 days, and the number of days of paid leave in respect of child illness will also increase. Free medicines will be introduced for children under the age of 3 years. It is intended to fully satisfy the population's needs for children's preschool institutions.

Real possibilities exist already in the current 5-year plan period to virtually complete the release of women from the performance of work involving hard physical or harmful working conditions.

During the report and election campaign in trade union organizations, women workers raised questions concerning broader opportunities to combine their participation in social production with bringing up children. We are primarily talking about part-time work. Enterprise and organization leaders have been given the right to approve shorter working days or incomplete working weeks for women at their request. Practice shows, however, that many economic managers often turn down such requests by women workers on various pretexts. There is evidently a pressing need to introduce the appropriate legislative amendments to enable women workers, whenever necessary, to freely exercise their right to work an incomplete working day or an incomplete working week. These and other proposals aimed at improving the legislation on women's work require thorough examination with trade union participation.

Trade union committees must perform all their future work on stepping up concern for mothers and women workers in close contact with the women's councils now being set up everywhere, not separating their functions but acting jointly and giving them any aid and assistance they may need. It would be proper if representatives of women's councils were to join trade union committees and head the social commissions under trade union committees.

/Concern for the older generation/ is a typical feature of our socialist society. War and labor veterans in our country enjoy deserved prestige and are surrounded by concern and respect. The Soviet people profoundly honor the service of those who raised the country from devastation, laid the foundations of socialism, defended it during the Great Patriotic War, and restored the country from the ruins in the postwar years.

In the last few years millions of pensioners received pension increases and broader privileges in obtaining housing, medicines, and travel vouchers for rest and treatment, and the level of social services for invalids was raised. Important measures will be introduced during the current 5-year plan period, including increases in kolkhoz members' pensions set more than 10 years ago, increases in minimum pensions for workers and employees, and others.

At present one in every three pensioners continues to work in the national economy. Convincing proof of what can be achieved with a favorable, businesslike approach to the utilization of the work that veterans are capable of contributing is offered by the experience of Moscow's "Serp i Molot" Plant, Leningrad's "Kirovskiy Zavod," Kiev's "Arsenal," and the Minsk motor vehicles and tractor plants, where up to 80-90 percent of workers and employees continue to work after retirement on pension.

There are, however, also some unresolved problems in the organization of pensioners' work. Work schedules which suit pensioners and provide for an incomplete working day, incomplete working week, or work at home are still being introduced only slowly. Trade union councils and committees must be more persistent in getting economic organs to create the most favorable working system for veterans and to build residential homes for them as laid down in joint resolutions by the government and the AUCCTU. It is necessary, together with social security, trade, public catering, and consumer services organs, to be more energetic about developing home services for veterans, as is already being done in the Baltic republics and in Kuybyshev, Ivanovo, and several other RSFSR oblasts.

Substantial improvement is also needed in /pension provision./ Work on the preparation of a new law on pensions is now underway with AUCCTU participation. This is no simple task, bearing in mind the current legislation was adopted more than

30 years ago and is considerably out of date. In our opinion, substantial amendments ought to be introduced to link the size of pensions more closely with length of labor service and other labor merits, and to eliminate individual differences in pensions for state enterprise workers and kolkhoz members.

We must conduct all our work on stepping up the concern for veterans in close cooperation with the recently created All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. The veterans' organization will find sound support and an active assistant in the trade unions.

Concern for people's specific needs and interests must always be the focus of attention for trade unions and for each trade union organization. "If we succeed in achieving a decisive turn toward the social sphere," the party congress noted, "many of the current and even future problems of our life will be solved much more swiftly and effectively than before."

The Soviet trade unions will be unfailingly guided by this party directive.

III. Decisively Restructuring the Trade Unions' Educational Work

Comrades! Defining the role and position of trade unions in the building of the new society, Vladimir Ilich Lenin emphasized that the trade unions are an educational organization. Indeed, no matter which question we take, it is incumbent on trade unions to always act using persuasion and explanation, rather than using administrative measures. In other words, organization and education constitute the essence of all trade union activity.

It was emphasized at the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum that a new moral and ethical atmosphere is taking shape in the country. A reassessment of values and a broad nationwide discussion on ways of further developing society are in progress and a quest for new methods to work with people is underway. We must say bluntly that the trade unions are still making inadequate use of these exceptionally favorable conditions. A gap still exists between real life, the tasks for which labor collectives are struggling, and the outdated and obsolete stereotypes of our educational work.

This applies primarily to labor education, to the inculcation of constant readiness to work for the common good among Soviet people. It must be founded on propaganda about the lofty political and moral qualities of production front-rankers, of those who are in the vanguard of restructuring and acceleration.

Today we have already named the shining representatives of the workers' guard. These are the example we must use to educate the working people, and primarily the entire younger generation of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry. We deserve serious reproach for the fact that about 60 percent of all people leaving enterprises at their own wish are young people who have worked for less than a year. The main reasons for this are a lack of attention to young people and a lack of understanding of the urgency and importance of their problems. Quite often, teams famous for their achievement are reluctant to accept young workers graduating from vocational and technical colleges or secondary schools. How can a team be considered front-ranking if it rejects the glorious working class tradition of the concern for its replacement?

Every team now has its trade union group. It is incumbent on such groups to oppose manifestations of narrow-mindedness and to show constant concern for the recruitment of

young replacements. It is only right to set ourselves the task of ensuring every young worker starts his working career in a team, under conditions of modern, collective forms of labor organization.

The question is: How to create a vacancy for the newcomer if the team is financially autonomous and its work force has been reduced to a minimum and remains fixed? The answer is provided by the front-ranking teams who are proper educators of young people. Each year, Vladimir Tseluyev's team in Leningrad's "Elektrosila" seconds 3-4 persons to reinforce other collectives and the team recruits 3-4 newcomers. Many enterprises in Kiev have established a circle of educator teams, primarily concerned with training the labor replacements. A correct solution! It is the task of trade union committees, jointly with Komsomol and economic organs, to develop and support by all means the movement of educator collectives.

Collective influence does not cancel the importance of individual work with young people done by mentors. Already more than 4 million cadre workers are performing this honorary duty. Pavel Andreyevich Litvinenko, fitter at the Tula combine harvester plant and delegate to our congress -- a full holder of the Order of Glory and Hero of Socialist Labor -- mainly undertakes the training of problem adolescents. Educating them is a complex matter, but the veteran has not given up on a single one of his charges. More than 50 of them have grown into first-class foremen, and many of them have themselves become mentors.

Unfortunately, much formalism has built up in the organization of mentorship work in the last few years -- for which the trade unions are also to blame. Some trade union workers have come to regard rather as a matter of routine this vivid manifestation of the political and moral maturity of our working class and kolkhoz peasantry. The AUCCTU and the trade union councils and committees must show more concern for imparting to the mentorship movement the greater social importance it deserves.

In parallel with boosting the prestige of honest and conscientious labor, our socialist society is today ridding itself of everything alien to it. The USSR trade unions totally supported the party line of consolidating discipline and order and eradicating drunkenness, embezzlement, and unearned incomes. They thus defend the interests of the absolute majority of working people and protect them from any damage caused by violators of discipline, drunkards, and slipshod workers. It is worth emphasizing that many people belonging to these categories are also trade union members. This means we are fully responsible for their behavior and their attitude to their jobs.

We must also bear in mind that certain individuals and even groups of working people strive to exploit in their own fashion the measures for democratization of production management and to place their personal or group interests above the interests of the collective and of society as a whole. The trade unions must expose such phenomena as social demagoguery incompatible with genuine collectivist morals and the principles of socialist self-management.

The resolute turn toward strengthening discipline and the sober way of life has encountered active support among workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, and all strata of our society. Alcohol is disappearing from the atmosphere in production, in daily life, and in places for mass recreation by the population. Consumption of alcohol in the country has almost halved in the last 2 years. Industrial injuries and losses of work time as a result of absenteeism and illness linked with drunkenness have declined. Crime has declined by almost one-fourth. The number of divorces has fallen, and the family has become stronger. The initial positive results are still no ground for complacency. We cannot fail to see the substantial shortcomings existing in parallel with the positive processes.

The main point in the imposition of order and discipline is utmost concreteness in work with people and collectives. This is precisely what many trade union organizations often lack. We can apply to them directly the observation made in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report about the harm resulting from the "bulk" approach to the ideological sphere, when "successful ideological statistics" prevent us from seeing, on the one hand, the selfless working people and, on the other, the bearers of antisocialist morals.

We must above all support the efforts of working people themselves to impose order and discipline. Particular importance in this context attaches to maximum support for initiatives by teams pledging collective guarantees of production discipline. Since this initiative was introduced in Sverdlovsk Oblast's Severskiy pipe plant, work time losses at the plant have been reduced sevenfold and absenteeism eightfold, and the number of breaches of public order have halved. The AUCCTU, together with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and local party organizations, has taken steps to disseminate the Sverdlovsk experience to other regions of the country. More than 400,000 teams, comprising almost 8 million members, now live and work according to the principle of collective guarantees. It is noteworthy that many front-ranking teams are extending the principle of collective guarantees to the struggle for high output quality, labor safety, and service standards.

All this makes the "Production and Social Discipline -- Guaranteed by the Collective" movement an exceptionally important factor for consolidating the collectivist foundations of our life. It is incumbent on trade union councils and committees to bring this movement's organizational principles to the knowledge of each labor collective, and primarily the teams, and to support and develop by all means the working people's desire to ensure socialist order in the collective.

Daily attention must be given to collectives in teams, shops, or enterprises where an adverse moral and ethical situation is taking shape. Over a 2-year period, the AUCCTU and the RSFSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, together with a number of trade union councils, assisted in the consolidation of labor discipline at almost 4,000 enterprises with a total workforce of 3.2 million persons. There was improvement of labor organization, fuller use was made of means to influence violators, and assistance was given in the solution of social questions. As a result of this, work time losses in these collectives were reduced twice as fast as the average for the RSFSR economy as a whole. This approach must become a guideline for every trade union central committee and council in its work to strengthen labor discipline.

Workers meetings and working people's letters to the AUCCTU and other trade union organs produce sharp criticism of serious shortcomings in the organization of /the movement for a communist attitude to work,/ of the artificial boosting of the numbers of people participating in it, of formalism and haste in awarding the titles of shock worker and collective of communist labor, in other words of clearly excessive haste in the evaluation of their achievements. People are concerned because the title "communist" is being awarded to teams, shops, and enterprises which contain, in parallel with front-rankers, also shirkers, slipshod workers, grabbers, drunkards, and hooligans. Some collectives produced a significant growth in the number of participants in the movement against a background of unsatisfactory solution of social and educational tasks. It is perfectly obvious that attention today must concentrate mainly on the utmost improvement of socialist competition as a means for the comprehensive solution of production, social, and educational tasks. It is necessary to ensure that socialist competition promotes still further the affirmation of a conscientious and creative attitude to the job, the inculcation of lofty moral qualities, and the consolidation of the principles of a communist attitude to work.

Our attention must be constantly focused on questions of patriotic and international education. The Soviet trade unions, uniting on a voluntary basis working people from all nations and ethnic groups in our country, are international by nature. These favorable opportunities do not produce automatic results. It must be admitted that, for a long time, the proper attention was not given to questions of international education in trade union activity. Suffice it to say that, in the last 15 years, these questions were not discussed at a single plenum of the AUCCTU or of other trade union central committees. Quite often trade union organizations -- and especially among young students, as happened in Alma-Ata -- take a passive stance in the face of manifestations of local favoritism or national exclusiveness and arrogance.

It is incumbent on trade union councils and committees, every primary trade union organization, and the multinational labor and study collectives to counter the nationalist infection by consistent and firm internationalism. It is important to cultivate and consolidate people's sense of the community of goals of the whole Soviet people in labor, study, culture, and the defense of the socialist fatherland. It is necessary to firmly pursue the line whereby the structure of trade union organs most fully reflects the national structure of the country and its different regions.

An important role in the multifaceted process of restructuring has to be played by constant concern for every person's spiritual wealth and culture, for the organization of meaningful leisure for the population. Much has been done recently to improve matters in the theater and concert work. The AUCCTU participated in the creation of the Soviet Culture Foundation and the All-Union Music Society. New forms of work, which the population finds attractive, have appeared in trade union clubs and sports facilities. The Second All-Union Festival of People's Creativity, devoted to Great October's 70th anniversary, was a memorable event in the country's life.

At the same time, serious shortcomings still exist in the trade unions' work on organizing the working people's free time. Many forms used in this work are ossified and cannot keep up with people's growing spiritual requirements. Proper order is not maintained in many trade union club and sports facilities, or they are not adequately fitted and equipped.

The entire potential of culture must be placed at the service of man and must reinforce man's spirit, morale, and aesthetic views. Trade union clubs are visited by about 13 million Soviet people each year. We are all responsible for the spiritual qualities and outlook on life cultivated by leisure in our cultural institutions. At many plants, factories, and construction sites the club is the shop for culture, a center for shared interests and communist education. At the same time, working people have recently been drawing our attention with growing concern to the fact that national folklore and Soviet songs and music have been pushed into the background in some cultural institutions by dim discotheques, hysterical "heavy metal" groups, and passionate fans of break dancing. We are asked: "Who opened the doors of workers' clubs to such rock groups? Why are trade union committee and club leaders incapable of blocking the vulgarity, lack of spirituality, and immorality which damage the cause of educating the younger generation?"

It has to be emphasized with absolute firmness: No, there can be and there must be no compromises when talking about the world outlook and spiritual life of Soviet people and our young people. This must be understood by every trade union committee and every worker in trade union cultural institutions.

The country is now implementing an unprecedented program for the construction of cultural and sports projects. There is also a need for trade unions to participate in this accelerated development of the country's cultural potential, this overcoming of prevailing inequalities in the social and cultural development of individual regions.

The AUCCTU submits to the congress the proposal that, over a 10-year period, the sum of R1 billion from trade union funds be channeled into the building and reconstruction of clubs and sports facilities in the European North, Siberia, and the Far East. This will make it possible to open thousands of additional club and sports institutions for the collectives of enterprises and construction sites located in places subject to intensive economic development.

In parallel with centralized measures, it is important to utilize all local potential and broadly rely on people's increased social activeness and their desire to help as much as they can in the restructuring of our leisure. Some 18 months ago the AUCCTU approved the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Trade Union Council's work to implement a program for the creation of very basic sports facilities. During this time the oblast has built and equipped 1,370 sports grounds. The experience of people from Dnepropetrovsk was widely disseminated in Voronezh and Rostov Oblasts and in the Belorussian and Moldavian SSR's. It is incumbent on trade union, Komsomol, and physical culture organizations to support this useful initiative so basic physical culture and sports facilities can be created this very year in every labor and study collective, young people's hostel, park, and out-of-town leisure zone.

A vast reserve for the expansion of trade unions' cultural and educational work is contained in the 600,000 assembly and sports halls and 500,000 red corners existing in schools and other education establishments and at enterprises and organizations. Their better utilization will substantially boost the potential of club and sports institutions and, mainly, will help to involve millions of people in meaningful leisure. Taking their potential into account, every trade union club and sports facility must create a network of such subsidiary branches before the end of this year and start providing services to several additional labor or study collectives. This work must expand each year so that, jointly with the state organs for culture and sports, the major task of extending the zone of leisure services to every labor collective, every education establishment, and every young people's hostel can be solved within the 5-year plan period.

The development of various forms of leisure and people's creativity today is impossible without active participation by professionals from the areas of art, culture, and sports. We know of quite a few remarkable examples of creative association between theatrical and concert collectives and famous writers and painters and the builders of the Baykal-Amur Maim Railroad, oil and gas industry workers in Tyumen, miners, and workers in the fields. Leading masters of Soviet sport are of great help to physical culture collectives. This noble work was given a fresh push by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Soviet sportsmen who won events at the Goodwill Games. The call issued from the meeting was: Go to the grassroots collectives and help to translate the propaganda of physical culture and sports among young people into specific deeds. Triple Olympic Champion Tatyana Kazankina organized training sessions in three adolescent sections, World Champion Garri Kasparov is one of the leaders of the school for supreme chess skills and founded a young people's chess club in Baku. Trade union sports veterans like Aleksandr Medved, Yelena Petushkova, Vyacheslav Starshinov, Galima Shugurova, Boris Stenin, and many others responded to the party call.

What we need today is a well thought-out system for joint activity by trade unions and workers in literature, art, and sports, maybe on the basis of long-term cooperation programs between trade unions and creative unions and sports organizations covering a broad range of modern problems concerning working people's spiritual and physical development.

Major tasks were set by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee resolution on the development of tourism. According to this resolution, the volume of services supplied to trade unions by tourism organizations must treble from R2 billion to R6 billion within 15 years. We must see this program as the minimum. Only 27 percent of demands for tourism services are satisfied in the country today, and the problem of organizing family tourism is still acute; its solution is still inadequate. Working people are justified in criticizing trade union organs and tourism and excursion councils for the poor standard of service and the lack of meaningfully organized leisure at numerous tourist institutions. Practical conclusions must be drawn from this criticism; the state of affairs must be resolutely corrected.

Much has been done in the last few years to improve the organization of the population's leisure. There has been extensive development of culture and sports complexes.

The creation of culture and sports complexes in every city and rayon will be completed in the current year with active participation by trade unions. In our view, the positive experience of their work makes it possible to set the task of further developing and strengthening the machinery of interdepartmental coordination of the activity of culture, education, physical culture, sports, and tourism institutions at the level of cities, oblasts, krays, republics, and the country as a whole. There is still a persistent need to create a uniform system in the country for material and technical supplies to clubs and sport and tourism organizations regardless of their departmental subordination. We are asking the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Questions to thoroughly examine these problems.

We have to implement in the immediate future a whole package of measures to improve the leadership of the trade unions' physical culture movement.

The implementation of the AUCCTU resolution on the creation of a single voluntary trade union physical culture and sports society instead of individual and barely linked voluntary sports societies will make it possible not only to simplify its structure but also -- and this is the main point -- to expand democratic principles in the work of sports organizations, improve their activity directly in labor collectives and study establishments, and develop the network of sports clubs and physical culture collectives operating on the principles of voluntary participation and self-motivation.

The proposal to create in the country a uniform system for cinematographic services to the population under the auspices of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography also deserves support. It must only be stressed that the trade union committee or labor collective must still remain masters of their club and must prevent commercial interests from acting against the club's activity as a center for political education and mass cultural work among working people.

Millions of Soviet people make their way to independent life through the hostels of vocational and technical schools, technical colleges, VUZ's, and enterprises which today house more than 10 million persons.

The important social and educational role of young people's hostels in our society's life demands a fundamental change in attitudes to them, energetic imposition of order, and improvement of the microenvironment in each and every hostel. Trade union organizations must perceive their work in hostels as one of the most important avenues of their activity. More material assistance must be forthcoming from trade union committees for the organization of cultural and education work in hostels. Opportunities for this do exist. It is necessary, together with Komsomol organizations and women's councils, to boost the initiative of residents and more broadly develop their self-management and activeness in the independent solution of questions of daily life and leisure. At the same time, it must be most firmly demanded that economic leaders face the issue of young people's hostels and impose and maintain exemplary order there. The AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee submitted proposals to the USSR Government on a package of questions involving the material and technical and the social and cultural requirements of hostels, including the problems of family hostels. Let us hope all these questions will be duly examined.

One of the most important mandates of working people to their trade unions concerns the organization of vacations for children and adolescents. During the period under review, the network of health camps expanded by 50 percent, while the number of those taking their vacations there increased from 14.2 million to 17.7 million. A new form of extramural work -- clubs for adolescents set up with trade union funds in residential areas -- is developing at the AUCCTU's initiative. About 2,000 such clubs are already established. The AUCCTU and trade union organs have planned to establish 16,000 clubs for 5 million adolescents in the current 5-year plan period.

Time demands that we reassess the organization of children's and adolescents' vacations. More than 44 percent of school pupils take their vacations in Young Pioneers camps in the country as a whole, but this figure is 1.5-2 times lower in the Central Asian and Caucasian republics and several RSFSR territories. The AUCCTU and the trade union central committees, councils, and committees must analyze in depth the organization of children's vacations in each territory and each labor collective. The real goal which must be pursued during the 12th 5-Year Plan period is to involve up to 6 million additional children and adolescents in organized forms of vacations, in other words to do in this area as much in 5 years as was done during the previous 10 years. Particular attention is required by the organization of summer vacations for students in vocational and technical schools and children living under adverse climatic conditions in our country's northern territories.

The entire multifaceted educational work of trade unions today demands reconsideration and serious improvement. Its center of gravity must be firmly established in labor collectives, shops, livestock units, and sections. What has to be done is to raise the trade unions' work at places of residence and hostels to a qualitatively new level and step up influence on the implementation of the reform of general education and vocational schools and the restructuring of the work of higher and secondary specialized education establishments. We must exert more objective influence on the consolidation of the family, and of young families in particular, counter bourgeois propaganda more sharply and more assertively, and conduct atheist education. As we can see, urgent and topical problems face the trade unions in the educational work sphere. These problems must be solved by each trade union group, each shop or primary trade union organization, and all trade union organs acting objectively, consistently and energetically in this direction.

IV. Participating More Actively in Socialist Self-Management and Fundamentally Restructuring the Trade Unions' Organizational Work

Comrades!

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum on questions concerning the further development of democracy in our country, socialist self-management by the people, and the improvement of work with cadres are of fundamental importance to the trade unions' organizational activity. The essence of the tasks facing us in the light of these decisions lies in the fact that trade union organizations, their leadership organs, and all our cadres must learn to work in conditions of deepening democracy, developing self-management, and growing political and labor activeness among the people.

On the one hand, the trade unions must give increasingly active assistance to the development of socialist self-management and the implementation of the broad possibilities it offers to each labor collective and each working person; on the other, they must employ every means to develop self-management principles in the activity of trade unions themselves and involve the entire mass of trade union members in active internal trade union work.

A broad discussion of the draft law on the state enterprise (association) is currently underway. This law implements one of the most important stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the efficient utilization of direct democracy.

The draft defines the trade union committee's position under the new conditions of work by the enterprise and specifies its right to participate in production management and in decision-making on questions concerning social development and the protection of working people's interests. The discussion shows that the draft law enjoys the unanimous support of labor collectives and the trade union aktiv. Its provisions accord with the working people's mood and thoughts. The same attitude to the draft law will also be expressed, I believe, by the congress delegates and by our country's trade unions as a whole.

The task of trade union committees is to participate most actively in the further discussion of the draft law, bring the essence of its provisions to each worker and employee, thoroughly take into account and sum up their comments and suggestions, and make maximum use of the discussion for the purpose of developing the working people's sociopolitical activeness.

At the same time, we must start preparing right now for work under the conditions which will be created when the law comes into force. It is necessary above all to enhance the trade unions' role as a school where each labor collective member can learn economic management and acquire management habits. The trade unions have enormous opportunities in this work. Each year around 28 million persons are trained just within the system for training and improved qualifications for trade union cadres and aktiv members.

The socialist labor collective is a living and complex social organism, within which the primary links of our entire political system operate. Each one of these links has its own position and its own tasks. They all supplement each other, ensuring the working people's real participation in the management of production and the affairs of society and the state.

Some comrades express fears that the introduction of the principles of self-management and the creation of labor collective councils would curtail the sphere of trade union organizations' activity. This is absolutely incorrect, Comrades!

The labor collectives and trade union organizations are united by common goals. The trade unions could take on the concern for setting up labor collective councils and for summing up and disseminating the experience of their activity.

With the creation of the councils, trade union committees gain new opportunities to actively influence the state of affairs within collectives. It is necessary to make broad use of these opportunities to solve urgent problems in production organization and social development, without being afraid to submit for examination by labor collectives' general meetings and councils any urgent production and social questions, questions concerning the drawing up of plans for the utilization of economic incentive funds, the promotion and placement of cadres, and profoundly substantiated proposals. Broad publicity will make it possible to avoid mistakes in decision-making and will encourage the boosting of working people's labor activeness and creative initiative. At the same time, trade union committees must take a firm stand against parasitical attitudes and attempts to keep within the boundaries of shop interests without taking state needs into account. Self-management implies harmony between the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual.

The new conditions of economic management create the need for different approaches to the conclusion of collective contracts. At present they contain mostly norms and rules set by higher-ranking organs which are copied from one year to the next and make the collective contract look like a code of general legal norms rather than setting out the mutual obligations of the collective and the administration. It is evident that collective contracts must acquire a fundamentally different nature. Their main content must be the sides' mutual obligations regarding boosting production efficiency, increasing financially autonomous revenue, and utilizing it in the interests of the entire collective and for the solution of specific social tasks.

It is evidently necessary to accept the numerous proposals to the effect that, under the new conditions, there is no longer any need to register collective contracts with higher-ranking economic and trade union organs. An opinion is also being expressed that, under the new conditions, the creation of labor collective councils makes it no longer necessary to have permanent production conferences. Tasks concerning the development of democracy in production come to the fore. Trade union councils and committees must constantly bear in mind that this work must be closely linked with the strengthening of conscientious labor and production discipline and the enhancement of the responsibility borne by all trade union organs for the end results of an enterprise's work and thus for the fuller satisfaction of working people's needs.

The labor collective is the main sphere of trade union activity, and it is understandable that the democratization of its life must substantially affect the content, style, and methods of work primarily of /primary trade union organizations./

A primary trade union organization can gain the proper prestige within the labor collective only by taking an active stance. We do have the potential and every opportunity to conduct matters in precisely this fashion -- to raise in a fresh and resolute manner the standards of work in this decisive trade union link.

Some 713,000 primary trade union organizations now operate within the trade union system. The absolute majority of them conduct their work fully on a voluntary basis. Some 58 million aktiv members make up the elected trade union organs, their commissions, and their social councils. Many of them perform the social mandates and their social duty with a sense of lofty responsibility to the organizations.

The AUCCTU expresses from the congress rostrum most profound gratitude and thanks to all trade union aktiv members. We will continue to firmly rely on them as the main and decisive force in the restructuring of all trade union work.

The analysis of the entire activity of primary trade union organizations which took place in the course of report and election meetings and conference was more open, principled, and critical than ever. More than 24 million trade union members made critical observations or suggestions. The membership of trade union committees was substantially renewed. The proportion of workers and kolkhoz members among trade union committee members at production sector enterprises increased from 52 to 70 percent. Almost 160,000 trade union committees are headed by workers or kolkhoz members. More young people were elected to trade union organs.

The influence of trade unions in production teams -- the most widespread labor collective links -- was intensified. An additional 850,000 trade union groups were set up within them in the last 2 years. Their total membership now stands at 3.9 million. Through them the trade unions are able to exert practical influence on every working person.

The role of shop organizations has been enhanced. This was helped to a large extent by the expanded powers of shop committees as a result of being granted the rights of trade union committees on a number of questions.

With help from the aktiv, we can and must ensure direct participation by all trade union members in managing their organization's affairs and develop self-management principles in the activity of each one of its links.

It is very important to boost the role of /trade union meetings./ They must become the venue for a principled and open discussion of all urgent questions of the trade union organization's life. It is no secret that meetings in many organizations are conducted in a slack and boring fashion, without proper criticism and self-criticism. This is mainly because trade union committees are slack in their work on executing meeting decisions and implementing any suggestions and supply inadequate information on the results of work done. This is the main reason behind the decline of social activeness and the growing passivity of trade union members, and we must resolutely eliminate this shortcoming and boost the responsibility of both leaders and all members of elected trade union organs for the execution of decisions made by general meetings.

It is necessary to substantially improve the activity of permanent commissions in primary organizations as an important condition for social principles in their work. Unfortunately, a reckless approach to the establishment of numerous commissions and councils often creates merely the impression of bustling activity, while in fact it discourages the aktiv members' willingness for voluntary work. The AUCCTU recently adopted measures to regulate voluntary formations within trade unions. The number of recommended trade union committee commissions has been reduced by one-third as a result of their consolidation. Trade union committees themselves are entitled to decide what commissions would suit their purpose. The essence of this question lies not in the quantity but the quality of voluntary formations' activity. It is incumbent on us to ensure that permanent commissions act efficiently and that they play a stronger role as a school for teaching the habits of organizational and management work to the millions of aktiv members.

Further democratization is needed in the process of /constituting the elected trade union organs./ This is one of the most important conditions for their active work, the

influx of fresh energy, and the enhancement of their responsibility to trade union members. The proposals made at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum regarding party organizations also apply to us. The candidates suggested for promotion to membership of elected organs at all levels must be discussed carefully by trade union organizations and at the places where they work. These same organizations -- shop and primary organizations and trade union groups -- must have the right to recall their representative on the elected organ if he fails to justify their trust. Such a step would help the further expansion of democratic principles in constituting the elected trade union organs.

The report and election meetings also heard proposals for boosting the responsibility of the trade union organization itself regarding the election of trade union committee chairmen and the broader democracy in constituting trade union organs at other levels. By their nature, the trade unions are a profoundly democratic organization of the workers, and democracy must literally imbue their entire life.

The stepping up of /openness/ in trade unions' work is a fundamental avenue of the further development of internal trade union democracy. Whenever the introduction of new production norms, work payment terms, the distribution of housing space, garden plots, or travel vouchers, incentives, or social penalties are at issue, all these and other questions must be examined by trade union committees in an atmosphere of broad openness, in front of everyone, and taking into consideration the opinions and suggestions of working people themselves.

Trade union members must be constantly informed of what questions are being solved by leading trade union organs and of the current concerns of sector trade unions and their central committees. Broader use must be made for this purpose of our trade union press, of our newspapers and journals, whose total print run is 40 million copies. Our press must set an example of open and objective reflection of public opinion, criticism and self-criticism, and broad openness, report intelligibly what is happening in labor collectives and their trade union organizations, be even more effective in exposing idlers, profit-seekers, and time-servers, and be more active in helping those who are struggling for democracy. Instances of crude administrative interference and suppression of criticism exercised toward newspaper and journal editorial offices are absolutely intolerable. Unfortunately, this happened to our newspapers VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT and VODNYY TRANSPORT. It must be said that many trade union councils and committees maintain inadequate links with our press and the local news media and fail to display initiative in the development of contacts with press organs of the creative unions and other public organizations.

Comrades! The substantial changes in the activity of primary organizations -- the basic links in the trade union system -- and the need to provide them with stronger leadership, as well as the new tasks set for the trade unions, demand a decisive /restructuring of the work of trade union central committees and councils, the AUCCTU, their apparatus, and trade union personnel cadres./

During the period under review, and especially since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, the AUCCTU has paid constant attention to these questions and to the improvement of the style of trade union work.

There was a decline in the number of sessions held and resolutions passed by the AUCCTU Presidium and many trade union central committees and councils. The volume of statistical and financial reporting was halved. There was a 50-percent increase in the amount of time spent by central trade union organ officials visiting local organizations. During the last 4 years, integrated AUCCTU teams have been sent to give practical assistance to trade union organizations in 65 oblasts, krays, and republics.

During this period, a number of trade union central committees and councils accumulated experience in new and more efficient approaches to the solution of current questions concerning the acceleration of socioeconomic development, and this was furthered by the number of comprehensive programs adopted by the AUCCTU for practical trade union actions along the most important avenues of activity during the period under review.

The phenomena of stagnation, the burden of old habits and stereotypes, and manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape are still present in the work of many trade union leadership organs.

Take, for example, the practical work of the State Trade and Consumer Cooperative Workers Union Central Committee. The state of affairs in the sectors is unsatisfactory regarding the improvement of working conditions and labor safety for the workers, the level of industrial injuries is falling extremely slowly, and the targets for reducing the number of workers engaged in heavy physical labor, like the targets regarding the commissioning of sanitary and consumer services facilities, dispensary treatment and curative institutions, and many other important indicators, have not been met. The retail trade turnover plans are not being fulfilled in the overwhelming majority of oblasts, krays, and republics.

Meanwhile, the trade union Central Committee continues to produce paperwork and adopt resolutions. During the last 2 years, sessions of its Presidium and Secretariat have examined more than 300 questions -- almost double the number planned. At the same time, there was a decline in official travel by apparatus workers, which was in fact used mainly to prepare materials for sessions. The leaders of the trade union central committee themselves rarely travel anywhere, and when they do it is mainly to attend plenums, conferences, and other events.

Similar shortcomings are typical of the central committees of the Machine Building and Instrument Making Workers Union, the Electric Power Station and Electrical Industry Workers Union, and the Education, Higher School, and Scientific Institutions Workers Union, the Irkutsk, Ryazan, and Chuvash trade union obkoms, and the Kazakh and Turkmen republic trade union councils.

There is still no proper coordination in the activities of trade union central committees and councils. Following the 17th USSR Trade Union Congress and on the basis of accumulated experience, the AUCCTU adopted /measures to deepen the coordination of their activity./ Even so, however, this has still not completely eliminated elements of parallelism and duplication.

Numerous suggestions are being made regarding a more accurate demarcation in the functions of trade union central committees and councils. They have been taken to a certain extent into account in the draft statutes being submitted for examination by the congress. It must be borne in mind that no directive is capable of dividing the "sphere of influence" of these trade union organs. It is incumbent on them to assist trade union organizations in more effectively solving their multifaceted tasks at both sector and territorial levels and in more fruitfully cooperating with central and local organs of state and economic management.

The central committees, together with the ministries, must tackle the solution of questions like the organization of sector and internal production competition, the dissemination of front-ranking experience, work payment, norm-setting, and safety, and the assimilation of centrally allocated funds for housing, cultural, and consumer

services construction; they must play a more active part in the work by state organs on the preparation and review of sector plans for economic and social development and of questions concerning the improvement of the economic machinery, on the definition of fund-formation normatives, on the creation of uniform systems for the continuous education and improved qualification of working people in sectors, and on other questions. The demandingness of trade union central councils must be resolutely enhanced when the issue concerns the defense of working people's legitimate rights and the safety of their labor and health for which, as has already been said, there is a great need.

It is incumbent on trade union central committees to give more objective assistance to trade union committees at ministries and departments to step up their influence on the improvement of the style of activity of sector management staffs and on the education of cadres in a spirit of high responsibility for the work entrusted to them.

Republic, kray, and oblast trade union councils must concentrate their attention primarily on regional socialist competition, the monitoring of the observance of legislation regarding labor, social security, and medical, housing, cultural, and consumer services, and the organization of leisure for working people and members of their families.

It will evidently become necessary, taking into account the basic tasks and the nature of the problems being solved, to introduce amendments to the structure of the apparatus of these trade union organs. The main point is that, each one tackling its own work, they should work in coordination, constantly sense one another's support, and give professional help to primary organizations. Only thus will it be possible to score common successes in the solution of the key problems of trade union life.

Measures were taken during the period under review to promote to trade union work people who have gone through a sound production tempering and the school of voluntary work, specialists from different sectors of the national economy, front-ranking workers, and young people. The leadership structure of trade union councils and committees has been substantially renewed.

At the same time, serious errors were committed in /cadre work,/ and the blame for this rests to a considerable extent with the AUCCTU and its Presidium and Secretariat. We did not always display the proper principle, did not aim at establishing an efficient cadres pool, frequently overlooked instances of improper behavior by officials, and at times analyzed superficially and uncritically the state of affairs in trade union organizations.

For example, the state of affairs in Moscow trade union organs was deemed favorable for a long time. At the same time, however, serious shortcomings occurred and stagnation phenomena developed there in the selection, placement, and education of cadres. Many trade union raykom and gorkom chairmen lost interest in work, but they were still being nominated for election. Quite a few unworthy people among officials of the trade union council and gorkom were committing abuses of their official position. The Moscow City Trade Union Council Presidium displayed inertia and lack of demandingness and failed to set a proper example in restructuring and the development of criticism and self-criticism. The situation is now being put right, but conclusions must be drawn from this lesson by the AUCCTU and other trade union organs.

The former chairmen of the Altay Kray Trade Union Council, the Irkutsk, Ternopol, and Chita Oblast Trade Union Councils, and a number of other trade union organs failed to pass the test of the time, did not manage to cast off the burden of the past and of

prevailing stereotypes, and failed to properly restructure their work in the new fashion. Certain leading trade union council and committee officials in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenia and in Rostov, Khmelnitskiy, and several other oblasts had to be dismissed for various abuses and improper behavior.

To avoid similar phenomena, it is necessary to affirm everywhere an atmosphere of publicity and openness and to ensure that criticism and self-criticism become everywhere a norm in the activity of every trade union organ and official, take a constructive form, encourage practical actions, and give a new push to progress. We must be constantly guided by the principled stipulations of the party congress: /no organization is or can be immune to monitoring or closed to criticism: and no leader is or can be shielded from responsibility for the economic and educational consequences of his activity./

The improvement of /the trade union apparatus' work/ is a persistent demand. We must resolutely eradicate instances of the apparatus' trying to rise above collegial organs.

The purpose of the certification of senior trade union officials is to assist the improvement of the activity of the trade union organs' apparatus and the improvement of the selection, placement, and education of their cadres. In our opinion, it must take place after each election to the trade union organs in question and in an atmosphere of principledness, objectivity, broad publicity, and strict observance of the law, in a businesslike fashion, and at high organizational, ideological, and political standards.

There is no doubt that certification will actively help to raise the standards of work by the trade union apparatus, to decisively eradicate irresponsibility and bureaucracy in its activity, and to cultivate among trade union officials lofty responsibility for the sector of work entrusted to them and a solicitous and tactful attitude to people.

The /AUCCTU apparatus/ and its subordinate organizations and institutions are proving slow to restructure their work. The AUCCTU Secretariat and its sections give insufficient attention to the organization and monitoring of the fulfillment of adopted resolutions. They still render inadequate assistance in the restructuring of trade union work at local level. It happens at times that apparatus officials exceed their authority, willfully demand written data and reports from trade union organs, and create unnecessary paperwork.

The numerical strength of the apparatus of the AUCCTU, trade union central committees and councils, and organizations under the AUCCTU's jurisdiction was reduced on two occasions during the period under review. A total of more than 41,000 full-time jobs in trade union organs and in cultural, enlightenment, sports, tourism, and other institutions and organizations were cut back during this period. We must go even further down the road of improving the apparatus and its structure and cutting down on full-time jobs.

It is necessary to use every available means to strengthen the competence and standards of apparatus work, step up the leadership and monitoring of its activity by trade union organ presidiums and secretariats, and organize matters so that trade union officials spend more time visiting local organizations and aim practically -- and this is the main point -- at solving the pressing questions affecting the interests of working people and their trade union organizations.

Another most important point is /to further improve the training of trade union cadres./ We have all the necessary conditions for this at our disposal. The higher trade union schools, the institute for improving qualifications, and the widespread

network of trade union study courses employ a large detachment of scientists, qualified lecturers, and practical workers. The study and material base of the entire trade union study system has been substantially strengthened. Full use must be made of these opportunities, and study must be more closely linked with the current requirements of restructuring and the formation of a reserve cadre pool.

Now there is an urgently growing need to scientifically interpret the practice of trade union work and map out the most important avenues for its improvement and restructuring. Greater responsibility in this regard must be borne by the higher trade union schools and the AUCCTU scientific center.

The AUCCTU and the trade union central committees and councils must also establish closer contacts with academic and sector scientific organizations and make fuller use of their scientific potential for a profound and comprehensive study of all aspects of trade unions' activity.

Comrades! The congress has to examine and adopt /amendments to the USSR Trade Unions Statute./ The draft which was prepared has been distributed among congress delegates. Consequently, there is no need to speak at length on the content of these amendments. Allow me, in addition to what has already been said, to dwell only on some questions of fundamental importance.

The new edition of the statutes formulates stipulations on the position and role of trade unions in the political system of Soviet society and the people's socialist self-management and on their main functions under the conditions of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. It is emphasized that the activity of trade unions is based on struggle for the successful implementation of the CPSU Program, whose stipulations and conclusions wholly and fully correspond with the goals and tasks of the trade union movement in the USSR and express the aspirations and fundamental interests of working people.

There is a more precise definition of the rights and obligations of trade union members and the tasks of primary trade union organizations. The statutes are being supplemented by provisions aimed at the further improvement and democratization of the norms of internal trade union life, the strengthening of ties between trade union organs and the masses, and the provision of broad publicity in their activity.

It is proposed to extend to 2-3 years the duration of power vested in trade union committees and shop committees of trade union organizations uniting 150 or more trade union members.

It is planned to introduce partial amendments to the structure of trade union organizations at production and science and production associations operating under conditions of greater territorial dispersal. The statutes now contain a new section on "Trade Unions and State and Social Organizations." It consolidates the prevailing practice of interaction between trade unions and the relevant state and public organizations and, at the same time, orients them toward deepening their mutual relations.

Under the conditions of further democratization of life, particular importance attaches to the trade unions' joint work with /Soviets of People's Deputies./ This cooperation becomes more businesslike and efficient and its forms and methods improve year by year. There still are, however, quite a few trade union organs which display no initiative in this regard, rarely submit specific proposals for examination by soviets, and limit themselves to organizing isolated joint events of a sporadic nature.

The measures taken by the party to further step up the role and enhance the responsibility of soviets for the acceleration of their regions' socioeconomic development offer new opportunities to intensify our collaboration with them. In close contact with the soviets, trade union councils and committees can and must aim for better results in solving housing problems, in developing consumer goods production, the services sphere, environmental protection work, and the social and production infrastructure, and in solving other problems.

The businesslike ties between the AUCCTU and the USSR Government have strengthened. More than 100 proposals on major questions were submitted to the Council of Ministers during the period under review. They concern improving labor organization and payment and bonus payments to various categories of working people, further developing socialist competition, team contracts, and counterplans, expanding the construction of housing and children's preschool institutions, creating young people's housing complexes, stepping up work safety, supplying specialized clothing to working people, and a whole range of other problems. All these proposals met with government support and positive decisions, and many were the subjects of joint resolutions by the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU.

We must continue to collaborate closely with the government and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development so as to resolve more successfully questions concerning the improvement of Soviet people's life, work, and consumer service conditions.

The restructuring of the economic machinery creates a persistent need for more active businesslike ties between the AUCCTU and the Gosplan, the Gossnab, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the Ministry of Finance. We do have such experience. Our joint work with them is not always conflict-free, but ultimately it is fruitful and necessary.

Trade union organizations must step up the coordination of their actions with the /Lenin Komsomol/ regarding providing young people with conditions for active participation in labor and social life, highly productive labor, and improved vocational skills and general educational standards, involving young men and women in the management of state and social affairs and the organization of vacations for children and adolescents. In our opinion, it would be expedient for the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee to elaborate a sound program for joint action on all these questions covering the next few years.

Together with the people's control organs, it is incumbent on the trade unions at both central and local level to aim for better /public monitoring./

Trade union organs must cooperate daily and more actively with /creative unions and voluntary societies/ and with cooperative, women's, and other public organizations.

A large number of suggestions were received during the course of the report and election campaigns which, in our view, deserve careful examination. Conferences and congresses stressed the need to pass a law on the rights of USSR trade unions, which would legislatively enshrine the greater rights of trade unions under the conditions of further development of democracy and socialist self-management. It is also necessary to enshrine in legislation the right of trade union organs at all levels to block management decisions running contrary to labor legislation or damaging the social interests of labor collectives or the rights of trade unions.

The AUCCTU, using its right to legislative initiative, could submit appropriate proposals on this question.

A large number of suggestions made by trade union members are aimed at further expanding the rights of trade union committees, including rights regarding the utilization of trade union funds, the creation of better conditions to enable part-time trade union committee chairmen to perform their social duties, the further reduction and simplification of statistical reporting in trade union organs, and the improvement of control and auditing work within the trade union organs system.

There were also quite a few other suggestions concerning the improvement of the trade unions' organizational activity, which must be take into account in the practical work of the AUCCTU and other trade union organs.

At the same time, it is our opinion that some suggestions cannot be accepted.

For example, proposals were made at some trade union conferences and congresses to hold plenums of oblast (kray) and even rayon (city) trade union organs once every 6 months and sessions of the presidiums once every quarter. Such proposals were made, as a rule, by full-time trade union officials and were prompted by a desire to ease the workload of the trade union apparatus which, if we call things by their proper names, means the curtailment of trade union democracy and attempts by the trade union apparatus to supplant elected organs. We must organize all our mass organizational work in such a way that it assists as far as possible the improvement and renewal of all Soviet trade union activity, the solution of the tasks of the restructuring being implemented in the country, the acceleration of socioeconomic development, and the deepening and expansion of the constructive creativity of the masses and of socialist self-management in the interests of trade union members and all working people.

V. For Dialogue and Cooperation Within the World Trade Union Movement for the Sake of Peace and Defense of the Fundamental Rights of Working People

Comrades! Soviet people's intensive work to fulfill the historic tasks set by the party for the acceleration of economic and social development is being done during a crucial period in world history.

The entire political, socioeconomic, and spiritual development of the world community has brought upon it the inevitability of a decisive choice between the continued existence or otherwise of human civilization: Will people on the planet channel the vast intellectual and material potential toward peaceful creative work, or use it for self-destruction?

The program for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress and the well-known Soviet proposals on bringing about a nonviolent and nuclear-free world -- a world which would end once and for all the separation of politics from the moral norms valid for all mankind -- constitute an alternative to the plans for nuclear and space insanity.

Reykjavik was a concentrated expression of the two approaches to the solution of this key problem of our time. The Soviet side displayed at that meeting a new political thinking based on the defense of the global interests of all mankind.

A real step toward a nuclear-free world was blocked by President Reagan's adventurist stance, expressing the narrow-minded and selfish interests of military-industrial magnates. These interests are served most frankly by Washington's proclaimed "Strategic Defense Initiative" -- a doctrine of space threat and first strike. At the same time, it is also an offensive against the working people's interests, since the arms race requires vast and constantly growing expenditure and leads to U.S. economic and intellectual plunder of its allies among developed capitalist states and also "Third World" countries.

Soviet trade unions wholly, totally, and actively support the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course. We proceed from the premise that it accords fully with the interests of working people all over the world. It was unanimously supported by the 11th World Trade Union Congress held in Berlin last September, whose participants represented almost 300 million organized working people from all over the world.

All international and regional trade union centers and the overwhelming majority of national trade union organizations of the most diverse political orientations are today demanding an end to the arms race on earth and its prevention in space and a ban on nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weapons.

We are witnessing a decisive shift in the positions of many trade union organizations on questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament. There is a growing and strengthening belief that the fate of peace cannot be left just in the hands of governments alone. There is, however, an equally evident shortage of joint practical actions in support of this belief. It is, after all, obvious that only joint actions by trade unions in west and east, north and south, together with permanent and powerful pressure on militarism and reaction jointly with all other peace-loving forces, can force them to retreat and abandon the sinister plans for nuclear war and new rounds of the criminal arms race.

The proposal to set up an international /foundation for the survival of mankind,/ put forward at the international forum, "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity" held a week ago in Moscow, deserves the utmost support in this context. The Soviet trade unions are prepared to participate in this foundation's activity, whose purpose would be to pool the efforts of all social organizations and all people of good will for the sake of preserving civilization. We call on trade unions in all countries to support this initiative.

Dialogue is also necessary in the solution of other global problems facing the world of labor today. The threat of an ecological crisis, the effect of the scientific and technical revolution on labor and production, the establishment of fair international economic relations -- this is by no means a complete list of problems facing the whole of mankind, whose solution demands new approaches and bold joint actions.

Solidarity and collaboration offer the best means to consolidate the trade unions' positions under the conditions of capital's large-scale offensive against the working people's gains and trade union rights and are an important factor for improving mutual understanding and establishing trust in the international arena.

Responding to the statement by the European Confederation of Trade Unions, representing the majority of West European trade union centers, we express readiness to discuss specific ways to develop cooperation between trade unions in east and west in the sphere of science and technology, environmental protection, and deepening of trade and economic relations with a view to creating new jobs in Europe.

We also express a desire for collaboration on questions of importance to working people such as resistance to the antiworker policy of transnational corporations, the elaboration of specific plans for the conversion and reorientation of individual industrial sectors to peaceful purposes, labor safety, vocational training, and many others.

The AUCCTU will actively utilize the further development and strengthening of ties with all trade union centers in the world for the implementation of these initiatives.

One of the important avenues of work by Soviet trade unions is their participation in the activity of the WFTU, which unites 214 million working people from socialist, developing, and capitalist countries, and also its affiliated international sector associations of trade unions.

The 11th World Congress of Trade Unions, an open forum of working people and the most representative in all history, was a landmark in WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions] history. The decisions and documents adopted by the congress powerfully express the idea that the struggle to prevent a world war, terminate the arms race, and strive for new political and economic international relations is a fundamental and key prerequisite for success in solving the social problems facing all detachments of the international trade union movement today.

We advocate an open WFTU, its expansion to encompass new strata of the public, and the stepping up of work with organizations not belonging to the federation for the purpose of involving them in joint trade union action in response to capital's challenge.

Soviet trade unions attach paramount importance in their work to the utmost /development and deepening of cooperation with trade unions in the socialist countries./ This cooperation develops actively in all spheres of trade union activity and at all levels, on both bilateral and multilateral bases. Our relations are becoming increasingly specific and businesslike. They are distinguished by sincerity, trust, and principle.

The joint activity of fraternal trade unions and the study and utilization of advanced experience are increasingly fruitful. Trade unions are playing an increasing role in solving the tasks of socialist economic integration. International competition is improving. All this is aimed at enhancing the trade unions' contribution to solving the tasks of their countries' economic and social development and the further strengthening of the socialist community.

We welcome with great satisfaction the consolidation of the revived trade unions' position in People's Poland both inside the country and in the international arena.

I would like to note the resumption of Soviet trade unions' contacts with PRC trade unions. This accords fully with the interests of our countries' working people. We are in favor of organizing cooperation with Chinese trade unions on an equal and principled basis.

Soviet trade unions will continue to invariably display solidarity and give maximum support to working people in Vietnam, Cuba, Laos, and Cambodia in the building of socialism and in the defense of their national independence, as well as to the DPRK working people struggling for the motherland's unification on a peaceful, democratic basis.

While developing and improving cooperation with trade unions from the socialist countries, it is necessary to be more decisive in overcoming the manifestations of formalism and ostentation still existing in this work and to improve the results from it.

It is necessary to more actively develop direct ties between labor collectives, give utmost support to their initiatives in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and deepen collaboration among working people at joint enterprises, integrational construction sites, and international science and production associations and organizations.

The USSR trade unions develop relations of friendship and equal cooperation with trade unions in the /liberated countries./ These trade unions have developed and matured in the course of anti-imperialist struggle and national building and now constitute a powerful social base for further strengthening the progressive, class wing of the international trade union movement. The close interweaving of economic and social demands with antiwar tasks is becoming a typical feature of actions by working people and trade unions in young states. There are increasingly loud demands to switch the vast nonproductive military expenditures to development projects.

We maintain broad and multifaceted ties with trade unions in liberated countries. They receive all-around support in the struggle for genuine political and economic independence. The most fruitful relations have been established with working people's organizations in Angola, Algeria, Benin, Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and other socialist-oriented countries. A vivid confirmation of their durability and stability is provided by the growing trend toward switching cooperation to a long-term agreement basis.

Our profound sympathies and support are with the patriots in /southern Africa/ waging a courageous struggle against the shameful apartheid system, and the /Arab peoples/ opposing Israeli and U.S. expansion in the Near East.

We will continue to actively support the organization of the trade union movement in Afghanistan and Nicaragua. We give assurances of the immutable solidarity of Soviet trade unions with the heroic fighters for freedom and democracy in El Salvador, Chile, Paraguay, Honduras, Haiti, South Korea, and other countries with repressive dictatorial regimes.

Comrades, appreciable positive developments have occurred in our relations with trade unions in /developed capitalist countries,/ and primarily in /West European countries./ Particularly fruitful cooperation is developing with the French General Confederation of Labor, Portugal's National Intersindical, Spain's Workers' Commissions, and the All-Cypriot Federation of Labor.

On the whole, contacts with trade unions belonging to the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor have expanded and deepened. During the period under review, ties with the FRG German Trade Union Federation and with trade unions in Britain, the North European countries, and New Zealand were stepped up. Particular importance in this context attaches to /mass trade union rallies./ Only recently, and in addition to mass Soviet-French, Soviet-Japanese, and Soviet-Finnish rallies, we have received in the USSR large groups of working people from the FRG, Austria, Greece, Cyprus, Denmark, and Luxembourg, as well as trade union aktiv members from Scotland.

Some positive progress has occurred in the development of /all-European trade union cooperation./ Its adversaries among the most conservative trade union circles in the West strive by all means to hinder this positive process.

Despite their efforts, the trend toward expanding collaboration among trade union organizations in West and East and the desire of rank-and-file trade union members for open dialogue, mutual understanding, and cooperation are gathering and will continue to gather pace.

We have repeatedly declared in the past and we now confirm that Soviet trade unions are prepared for joint action with U.S. working people and the AFL-CIO in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and the utilization of funds released from the arms race to improve ordinary people's lives.

Yes, the new thinking still finds it difficult to make headway, and there still is a great shortage of trust. This is precisely why it is particularly important to develop ordinary ties of common humanity among working people in different countries, expand contacts among trade unions, and make a real contribution to the establishment of an atmosphere of trust.

Guided by Lenin's immortal ideas and maintaining unshakable loyalty to their international and class duty, the Soviet trade unions will continue to pursue a consistent course of rallying the ranks of the international trade union movement in their struggle against exploitation and the policy of "social revenge," for the right to work and live; they will struggle actively and resolutely against the military threat, for friendship and mutual understanding between peoples, for peace, democracy, and social progress.

Comrade delegates!

The AUCCTU report outlines the results of the work done since the 17th USSR Trade Union Congress including the year since the 27th CPSU Congress, in other words during the period which has marked the beginning of profound restructuring of the entire activity of Soviet trade unions.

We have submitted for your examination the basic guidelines for the further activity of the country's trade unions and their main tasks in today's conditions -- the conditions of struggle by the whole people to accelerate socioeconomic development.

These tasks are very large, complex, and crucial. Their implementation will require the utmost mobilization of all our organizations, their leadership organs, the multimillion army of trade union aktiv members, and all trade union members. These tasks are largely new and do not fit within the traditional and at times obsolete forms of trade union activity. They need new approaches, mental reorientation not only of leadership cadres but also of trade union aktiv members, a different style of work, considered and bold solutions and energetic actions, lofty principle and demandingness, and broad reliance on the mass of trade union members and their creative initiative and activeness.

We have every reason to believe the Soviet trade unions will cope honorably with these tasks.

During the report and election campaign which preceded our congress, our trade unions' activity was subjected to profound critical analysis in the spirit of the lessons in truth taught to us all by the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. Trade union members gave unanimous support to the initial steps taken by elected trade union organs to restructure their work and enhance its fruitfulness. Each trade union organization is now better aware of its role and its tasks in the attainment of the goals set for society.

The confidence that trade unions will cope successfully with their set tasks stems from the leading and guiding activity of the Communist Party and the assistance it gives to the steady growth of the trade unions' prestige and influence.

The Communist Party does everything to encourage the trade unions' activity and gives inspiring support to all their work. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, invariably draw the attention of trade unions to the need to boost their professional efficiency, demandingness, and principle in raising questions with state and economic organs and encourage trade unions to take a militant stand in restructuring and the defense of working people's rights, to make better use of their extensive rights, and not to wait for someone else to solve the tasks assigned to trade unions on their behalf. Local party organs give constant attention to trade union organizations.

Relying on this support by the party, the trade unions must fully develop their potential and thus increase their contribution to the nationwide cause of socioeconomic acceleration.

Being by nature organizations of one and the same class, the party and the trade unions in our country maintain unshakable unity and develop close cooperation. This unity gives strength to our trade unions and guarantees their successful activity. The plans set by the Communist Party are seen by trade unions as their own plans, and their fulfillment is perceived by trade unions as their own vital cause.

A great holiday of the Soviet people is approaching -- the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The trade unions and all working people in our country are fully resolved to fittingly continue October's revolutionary cause, to devote their labor to its ideals, and to work even more energetically to enable the Soviet people to flourish and prosper, for the sake of the motherland's might, and for the sake of socialism and peace.

Allow me, Comrades, to assure the CPSU Central Committee that the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, in defining the tasks of Soviet trade unions at this sharp turning point in the country's life and the modern world as a whole, will be guided by the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, its inspiring ideas of peace and creativity, and its call to march boldly forward in the Lenin fashion, to look ahead, and to devote all energies to the great cause of communist building in our country.

'Text' of Tisch Address

LD250219 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2239 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 24 Feb 87, (ADN) -- That text of the greetings address by Harry Tisch to the 18th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions runs as follows:

It is with great pleasure that I convey to you, the delegates and guests at the 18th congress of the Soviet trade unions, the fraternal greetings of the trade unionists and all working people in the German Democratic Republic. You, dear Soviet Friends and guests, under the CPSU leadership are working boldly and confidently with the aim of speeding the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The victory of the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of Lenin's party over the exploiting classes 70 years ago opened wide the gate to a world of peace, freedom and true humanity.

The working people of the socialist German state will not forget the heroic liberating deed of the glorious Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War, which opened up to our people the potential for a socialist future. True to Ernst Thaelmann's legacy, we Communists and trade unionists in the GDR have always regarded the relationship with the Soviet Union as a cardinal issue of our political attitude. The fraternal ties with the peoples of the USSR are a revolutionary gain and a matter close to the hearts of our people. They constitute the vital foundation of our society, the prerequisite of our socialist present and a guarantee for a peaceful and prosperous future. Our relations and cooperation have reached a high level. Let us develop them and make them still more successful in light of contemporary knowledge.

The struggle for social progress in our countries is proceeding in a complicated international situation. The present world situation makes it more urgent than ever to do all we can to make peace more secure and permanent.

On behalf of our delegation let me say with profound conviction that we support the peace proposals put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. They are fresh proof of the Soviet Union's constructive desire for peace, of a new approach to dealing with the most urgent global problems of our time. In fashioning the developed socialist society in the GDR, we are helping to make socialism stronger and peace more secure. We are unswervingly implementing the domestic and foreign policy decided on at the 11th SED Congress. GDR trade unionists have a term for it: "My workplace is my action station for peace.' It dominates the trade union elections in preparation for the 11th FDGB Congress to be held in April. There is no area of social life in which the trade unionists, representing the interests of the working class, do not actively participate in shaping their socialist state. Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, rightly insisted, therefore, at the 11th World Federation of Trade Unions Congress that there can be no strong socialism without free and strong trade unions.

To be sure, in our country, too, no developments proceed without problems or automatically. Steady and tenacious work is needed in order to fully develop all potentials of socialism. Recent years show steady growth in our national income of between four and five percent.

In our struggle to achieve high economic growth, implement scientific-technological advances and apply modern key technologies, we adhere to Lenin's doctrine that increased labor productivity is crucial to the triumph of the new social order. Our struggle to achieve high production includes -- and this is unalterable -- constant efforts to improve working and living conditions, to develop social gains step by step. That is what we mean by the integration of economic and social policy. We are convinced that we ar thus meeting the concrete conditions in the GDR.

We are living at the divide between imperialism and socialism. That is not always easy in our political-ideological and economic struggle. The enemy allows not a minute to pass without inciting against us and vilifying socialism. But we proceed unerringly on our path.

Comrades, this is our resolve and conviction: Only in firm alliance with the USSR and all socialist countries will we demonstrate by our work that there exists only one alternative to the world of capitalism: socialism in freedom, democracy and human dignity. Our solidarity goes out to all who are fighting the anti-trade union policy of monopoly capital. We are rendering fraternal solidarity to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for national and social liberation.

We wholeheartedly wish you much success in your work for the lofty aims you are setting yourselves at this congress. Long live the firm friendship between the trade unions of the GDR and the USSR. Long live socialism and peace.

## Hungary's Caspar Speaks

LD250148 Moscow International Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Sandor Gaspar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and SZOT chairman, today addressed the 18th congress of the Soviet trade unions. He said, among other things, the following:

[Begin recording] [Gaspar] Esteemed congress, dear comrades. These walls are witness to great times and events forming history. It is a great honor for us to be able to present at this congress which is taking place in a period when very significant events in the building of socialism are getting underway in the Soviet Union. The significance of these processes lies in the fact that it has been recognized in the Soviet Union that the institutions of power can be operated only via the control of the widespread masses. It is only in this way that socialist society is credible and democratic. It has been recognized that the workers are not the subjects but the carriers, the incarnations of power; for the power exists not for the system of institutions but for the workers.

Several experiences prove that the unfolding processes cannot leave the trade unions untouched either. They affect them with the force of renewal and they themselves can become an important force in bringing about changes.

The reconstruction of social and economic relations affects workers very directly and therefore in its materialization the trade unions have a very great responsibility. Our own experiences also prove that the programs relying on the forthcoming actions of the working people cannot be realized without the trade unions which comprise the majority of those living on wages and salaries, and which represent and mobilize them.

It is an historical experience that without a trade union independent and fulfilling a significant social role no society can be socialist or truly democratic. The trade unions have a singled-out place in that Leninist socialist picture and concept which is the fundamental ideological supporting pillar of current socialist societies. Regardless of the measure of the recognition which we give to work of trade unions operating in diverse circumstances it is our conviction that the trade union movement can unfold in its full potential only amid socialist relations. It is only here that it can operate in accordance with its aims and commission. The general aim of the trade unions is unchanged, but what is at issue is still more today than merely the influencing of working conditions and wages. Trade unions must participate in changing the entire background of economic work, efficiency, production and social policy. It is here that they must help to create such conditions, relations which, ultimately also determine the income and social policy.

As to the relationship between trade unions and the socialist system, this role cannot be ignored and therefore the commitment of the trade unions of the socialist countries to the social system, the historical objectives and to the policy expressing this is only natural. However, the commitment of the trade union is not the same to the system as to the concrete plans and decisions of the individual economic or state organs.

The creation of a socialist system is a comprehensive goal, the creation of such a society which exists for the people, which has been conceived by the will of the people and its goal. Its order, its spririt and fundamental law express the endeavor, the needs and interests of the people.

In earlier times we thought the process of building socialism was a more rapid one but now we know that we must expect a long, prolonged process. We had illusions that in the possession of power it was only a matter of decision as to what and when we would materialize something; that the only thing needed was to make a decision about something and everything would follow automatically. If at any time the sensing of reality has been demanded of the worker's movement then it is a commanding need in our present days. It is our faith and conviction that the spirit and word of the 27th CPSU Congress has taken as its point of departure the reality and the positive force of circumstance. We wish to realize its goals, hopes and desires which serve not only the prosperity of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also the international revolutionary trade union movement. We wish many successes to your congress, dear comrades. [end recording]

## Secretary Briefs Press

LD241758 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS -- "The first day of the proceedings of the 18th congress of Soviet trade unions has confirmed that the accomplishment of socio-economic tasks is the major direction of the activities of the country's largest public organization which brings together 140 million workers", Gennadiy Yanayev, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), said at a briefing at the press centre of the trade union congress today.

There are representatives of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia among the delegates to the congress.

"Guests from 134 countries, the leaders of many national trade-union centres and international organizations have arrived in Moscow to attend the congress, Yanayev recalled.

"The discussion which has begun at the congress shows that the Soviet trade unions fully support the course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) towards acceleration, reorganization, and democratization", Gennadiy Yanayev emphasised.

"The congress of trade unions is being attended by five thousand delegates," Gennadiy Yanayev said.

When speaking of the composition of the participants in the congress, he pointed out that 90 per cent of the of the delegates were taking part in such activity for the first time.

"Representatives of the working class account for a half of the delegates. There are many young people. About forty per cent are non-Party people."

"Delegates from 134 countries, representing 188 national trade-union centres as well as ten international and regional trade-union organizations are present at the congress".

"Trade union centres of various political and ideological orientation are widely represented among foreign delegates".

"About 30 delegations represent organizations which are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and nine delegations represent trade-union organizations which are members of the World Confederation of Labour".

"The trade unions possess extensive rights and considerable resources for the solution of social issues and for the assertion of the principles of socialist justice," Gennadiy Yanayev stated.

He said the social and protective functions of the trade unions were being widely discussed at the congress.

"In this country, there is no exploitation of man by man or those problems which the working people in the West encounter. However, not all economic executives have an adequate idea of the social issues which most directly involve the interests of the ordinary person."

"It is essential to use the resources of both economic and state organizations and the budget of trade unions more actively to ensure the working people's social rights".

"The trade unions' budget has grown over the period under review from 3,100 million to 3,800 million roubles. The trade unions' huge material and technical resources taken into account, their own funds amount to 9,000 million roubles".

"The trade unions have under their authority a thousand health resorts, more than a thousand tourist institutions, 23,000 clubs and palaces of culture, 19,000 libraries, about 100,000 young pioneer camps, and 25,000 sports facilities".

"In short, the resources of the trade union organizations are considerable, and the point now is to use them with utmost efficiency to meet the social needs of the working people".

"At the same time speakers at the congress gave examples of poor utilization of these funds and resources, and mentioned the need to reorganise these activities".

## TV on 25 Feb Session

LD251122 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0655 GMT on 25 February, in its live relay of the 25 February proceedings at the AUCCTU congress, shows Gorbachev entering the hall, followed by Shalayev, Gromyko, Ryzhkov and Ligachev, in that order. The camera then cuts to shots of delegates seated in the auditorium. Seating arrangements on the platform appear as follows. Front row, behind the speaker's rostrum, from left to right of screen: unidentified male, Lieutenant General Shatalov, Marchuk, two unidentified males, (?Pukhova), Zaykov, Chebrikov, Ligachev, Gromyko, Gorbachev when not speaking at rostrum, empty chair, Shalayev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Shcherbitskiy, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Aliyev, unidentified female, unidentified male, unidentified female, unidentified male. The second and third rows each comprise five blocks of seats, each block being six seats wide and two seats deep.

In the five blocks in the second row, the seating is as follows, from left to right of screen: first and second blocks -- foreign delegates. Third (middle) block, front row: Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Sokolov, Talyzin, Soloyev; second row: two unidentified people, Tereshkova, Murakhoviskiy, Antonov, Batalin. Fourth block, front row: Yakovlev, Sylunkov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Medvedev, Razumovskiy; second row: Voronin (seated on extra chair to the left of the fourth block), Vedernikov, Gusev, Kamentsev, Silayev, Maslyukov, (?Tolstykh). Fifth block, front row: Nikonov, Lukyanov, Kapitonov, Menteshashvili, unidentified person, Mironenko; second row: Shcherbina (seated on extra chair to the left of the fifth block), Shkolnikov, three unidentified officials, Mesyats, unidentified official. Third row: All five blocks are occupied by foreign delegates and other unidentified officials.

## TRUD on Proceedings

PM261329 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report"]

[Text] The 27th Congress of USSR Trade Unions continued yesterday, 25 February, in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow.

Delegates and guests greeted with applause the following comrades: M.S. Gorbachev, G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye. K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin, N.N. Slyunkov, S.L. Sokolov, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and I.V. Kapitonov.

The congress was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The speech was listened to with great attention and repeatedly accompanied by prolonged applause.

At the morning sitting the following comrades took part in the discussion of the reports of the AUCCTU and Central Auditing Commission: V.I. Korzhov, chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Trade Union Council; Hero of Socialist Labor N.I. Travkin, manager of the "Mosoblselstroy" Trust No 18; V.A. Kolosova, spinner at the Kalinin Cotton Combine named for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR and secretary of the the Oblast Trade Union Council on a voluntary basis. [paragraph continues]

G.S. Bashtanyuk, chairman of the Tatar Oblast Trade Union Council; D.A. Akkoshkarov, leader of a drilling team at the "Karagandaugol" Production Association's Mine named for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution; V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Republic Trade Union Council; T.P. Skorobogatykh, milking-machine operator at Asinovskiy Rayon's V.I. Lenin Sovkhoz, Tomsk Oblast; and V.G. Borisov, leader of a composite team in the Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction Housing Construction Combine No 1 also took part in the discussion.

The congress heard a report from the Credentials Commission delivered by V.P. Provotorov, chairman of the commission and secretary of the AUCCTU. The congress unanimously approved the Credentials Commission's report.

The congress was greeted by Roberto Veiga, secretary general of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, and Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of Czechoslovakia.

The following comrades addressed the evening session: N.K. Trifonov, chairman of the Tyumen union obkom and secretary of the Union of Oil and Gas Industry Workers Central Committee; S.N. Fedorov, director general of the "Mikrokhirurgiya Glaz" intersectorial scientific and technical complex and corresponding member of the the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; G.I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Trade Council; V.I.Avdeyeva, chairman of the Ipatovskiy Raykom of the Union of Agro-Industrial Complex Workers, Stavropol Kray, and member of the Union Central Committee Presidium; G.P. Sorokina, chairman of the Union of Local Industry and Consumer Enterprise Workers Central Committee; Professor R.S. Vasilevskiy, doctor of historical sciences, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy (Novosibirsk), and chairman of the union joint committee of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department; and V.M. Siradze, chairman of the Georgian Republic Trade Union Council.

The congress was greeted by the following: Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Accord; Pham The Duyet, chairman of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions; Anton Benya, president of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions; and Jean-Michel Boukamba Yangouma secretary general of the Congolese Trade Union Federation.

## More on Activities

LD251831 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 25 Feb 87

[Excerpt] Moscow February 25 TASS -- The second day of the Soviet Trade Unions' Congress began today with a speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He touched upon the issues of reorganisation which is now under way in the Soviet Union, and urged the trade unions actively to participate in the democratisation of social life. (The text of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech has been transmitted to all subscribers (?by) TASS news service). Fifteen delegates spoke in today's discussion. A "common denominator" of the speeches can be formulated as follows: Many delegates are concerned over the inertness of trade union activists, over their unwillingness or inability to use their rights. "Some people, trying to frighten us with a 'price of democracy', are warning against releasing a genie out of the bottle". "This is not what one should be worried about now. One should see to it that the genie is smoked out of the bottle".

A report by the credentials commission was endorsed at the congress today. The report gives a "collective portrait" of the delegates to the congress. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Carries Gorbachev Speech

PM261645 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 87 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Reorganization -- The Vital Cause of the People"]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates to the congress!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, I greet your congress and through you I greet all the working people of the land of soviets. (applause)

Exactly a year ago, on February 25, the 27th Congress of the CPSU began its work here in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The congress has proved a turning point for the destiny of our homeland and for the future of socialism. It broadly and boldly analyzed the experience gained in building a new society and worked out a mobilizing policy for accelerated socioeconomic development throughout the country and for the struggle toward the ideals of peace and humanism.

A month ago we had the January plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee. That plenum substantially deepened our understanding of the situation that has developed, specified the tasks in restructuring all the political activites of the party and people, elaborated a detailed concept for the democratization of social life, and gave a powerful impetus to the process of throwing off everything that still hampers revolutionary transformations.

A meeting with the participants in the forum, For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity was held in the Kremlin slightly more than a week ago.

As you know, the political and ethical principles of the foreign-policy strategy of the Soviet state and its approach to the global problems of mankind, notably the priority of preserving life on earth, were set out before an authoritative and widely representative audience.

These events reflect the mighty rhythm of our times -- a period of great undertakings, reappraisal of values, growing hopes, social enthusiasm, and uncompromising struggle between the new and the old. This is a difficult time but an unusually interesting one, a time when the society is gaining confidence in its strength, a time of civil maturation and patriotic noncomplacency of people.

We are confident that the practical work of your congress and the decisions taken by it likewise will be imbued with the spirit of our times. (applause)

A year is, on the whole, a brief period, but the past year saw very much from the viewpoint of social significance. At the same time we now realize that only the very first steps have been made.

The main thing, and hence the most difficult, still lies ahead. Up to now we mainly have been preparing for restructuring: We were working out its strategy, mapping out the main ways, identifying everything that was a hindrance and called for adjustment, and determining positions of departure.

It is now time to get restructuring actually moving. The year 1987, which has just begun, will be determinant, in many respects, for the fate of the restructuring effectually is being decided now and the foundation for acceleration is being laid.

As was emphasised at the January Plenum of the Central Committee, the restructuring is reality, and no longer an idea. It is taking hold of the masses, which means it works; it works for socialism, for the renewal of our society.

We are not building from scratch; one cannot build anything worthwhile starting from scratch. We have something to be proud of and to rely upon. We have great values, which we place above everything else.

Behind us, we have the greatest of revolutions, one which abruptly changed the course of events both in our country and in the world, and made an indelible imprint on the destinies of mankind.

Behind us we have vast and diverse experience, which has not yet been fully assessed, in building socialism in practice -- experience to which one must constantly turn, learning to solve problems as they arise, in the Leninist way.

Behind us we have tremendous economic, scientific, technical and intellectual potentials created and multiplied by the energies and talents of all the peoples of our great country.

Yes, comrades, we have traversed a long path, a difficult and heroic one, but through all the ordeals we have carried the revolutionary spirit of the people and faith in socialism and its supreme justice.

We have coped with and overcome everything. We have managed an unprecedented advance from the wooden plow and chips of kindling wood to space flights. We have experienced an incomparable joy: The joy of great accomplishments.

The indissoluble connection between work and civic concern for the common good, which brings together all generations of Soviet people, our patriotism, working-class pride, labor enthusiasm, and the sacred feeling of belonging to the great cause of the October Revolution, all these are the mammoth gains of our system without which it is simply inconceivable.

It is precisely the working-man -- and first of all the working class, with its devotion to revolutionary traditions -- that is the principal motive force in today's transformations. Industriousness has always been the supreme ethical value of our people, and mastery invariably has been one of man's chief virtues.

Today, too, we have true experts, people to live up to, from whom we can learn to work. These are the likes of Vladimir Matveyevich Gvozdev, team leader at the Raspadskaya Mine of the Yuzhkuzbassugol Association of Kemerovo Region; Nina Nikolayevna Shcherbakova, a weaver at Moscow's Tryokhgornaya Manufaktura Cotton Mill; Vyayno Aleksandrovich Saar, team leader at the Tallinnstroj building trust; Razifa Salikhovna Khanova, a milkmaid at the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in the Bashkir ASSR; Valeriy Makarovich Kolesnikov, a rolling-mill operator at the Kuznetsk metallurgical complex; and Yevgeniy Petrovich Razmyatov, leader of a multiskill team at the Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy commercial port, and Lidiya Trofimovna Babina, head of the Odessa oblast Progress meat production enterprise dairy product livestock unit.

These and thousands of other names have been brought forth by our time of revolutionary acceleration. The country refers to them as Stakhanovites of restructuring, and fair enough, I should say. We have such people everywhere, in many work collectives.

It is essential to ensure that the number of those who work for the renewal of society, for restructuring, who work not by means of words and assurances but through innovative and conscientious labor, grows greater with every passing day.

Of course, we all want changes for the better as soon as possible. The lofty goals the party has put forward and the growing changes in the economic, social, and political spheres have resulted in what may be termed a "revolution of expectations." Many want speedy social and material returns. I can judge this from recent meetings with the working people of Latvia and Estonia.

Let us be frank, comrades. We can achieve acceleration and better quality for our entire life in only one way: Through effective and highly productive work. No mechanisms of distribution or redistribution can create anything by themselves.

Yes, we need to refine many things in the national economic management system and in the social, political, and ideological spheres. As you know, such work is being conducted and will be conducted in the future as well, but there must be more emphasis on labor ethics as a whole.

The January Plenum meeting of the Central Committee directly mentioned the responsibility of the party and of its leading bodies for the state of affairs in the country, but surely, this is only one aspect of the matter, albeit a very important one. Yet there is another aspect, too:

It is no secret to anyone that many were content and some still remain happy to work in a slipshod manner, with unearned pay, undeserved bonuses, a mutually undemanding atmosphere, lack of control, and irresponsibility.

It must be clear: Time, efforts, and practical actions are needed for our legitimate material and social expectations to come true.

Restructuring implies an increase in everyone's work efficiency, be he worker, collective farmer, office staffer, engineer, scientist, teacher, government minister, or party official. By no means everywhere and always do things stand in precisely this way.

When evaluating at the January Plenum of the Central Committee the positive changes achieved last year, we said that they reflected the Soviet people's powerful support for party policy and for the party's course towards restructuring. However, the beginning of the year has shown that the positive changes have not become a steady tendency of economic development. Difficulties in the metallurgical, chemical, and electronics industries grew from the second half of the last year but were not given proper attention in ministries, in the USSR State Planning Committee, or in the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. The workers at many enterprises in these sectors did not set about correcting the situation in time.

The results of January showed that in both the center and provinces many people did not prepare themselves properly for work under conditions of enhanced demands on the activity of enterprises and amalgamations given full-scale transition to new methods of economic management.

The situation is being rectified now, but the process is slow. The party Central Committee counts on the understanding of the working class and all working people of the significance of the moment, of the importance of the successful implementation of the projected plans for the cause of acceleration, and on the growing contribution to economic development.

Today we want to alter radically the atmosphere in society, for we cannot be pleased with how we lived and worked previously. Nothing will come of it if we do not completely break the forces of inertia and deceleration, which are dangerous in their ability to draw the country back again into stagnation and dormancy and threaten society with ossification and social corrosion. Here, I would like to touch once again upon the purport of the January plenum.

We had an April Plenum in 1985 and, of course, it was not a fortuitous phenomenon. That plenum succeeded in expressing what was being thought and what was welling up in the country. It critically analysed the state of affairs in society and called for the elaboration of a concept of acceleration.

When we saw the reaction by the party and by the people to the ideas of the April plenum, we became convinced that we had taken the correct path.

Following the April plenum, we held in June a large-scale meeting on matters concerning scientific and technological progress. As a result of that meeting, we worked out important programs for the development of machine-building and a number of other branches of the national economy, and planned out measures to refine the management machinery, including those for running groups of interconnected sectors of the economy.

All that was the starting point for giving shape, on the basis of the April plenum, to the concept outlined by the 27th congress. The concept is known to you, comrades.

Following the congress, there arose the task of shifting the strategic line towards acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development on the plane of practical work. Previously, as you know, quite a number of good decisions were made, but they often remained unfulfilled.

The CPSU Central Committee was aware that there would be no acceleration if we did not start to restructure societal life and make healthier the entire atmosphere in the party and community. It was at that time the question arose of preparing a plenary meeting of the central committee to work out a theory of restructuring and to determine the tasks of the personnel policy at the new stage. Such was the main thrust of the January plenum.

To prepare for it proved a difficult matter. Suffice to say that we postponed the beginning of the plenum three times, for we could not hold it without having a clear idea of the main issues. We were to deepen the analysis of the situation that had preceded the April plenary meeting and to draw lessons from it. The most important thing was to suggest what should be done for restructuring to proceed vigorously and not peter out. If we at the plenum had limited ourselves only to stating deficiencies and difficulties and had not suggested specific directions for restructuring, such a plenum would have been of little benefit. We had to provide an answer to the main question that was uppermost in the minds of the people: How could we make restructuring irreversible and ensure that errors would not be repeated? The Central Committee Politburo arrived at an unambiguous conclusion: Restructuring would get stuck if the main character -- the people -- did not join it thoroughly in all spheres: the economic, social, political, spiritual and management spheres. Everything should be placed under the control of the people so as to make restructuring irreversible and to prevent a repetition of what happened in the past. There is only one way to resolve these tasks, namely through broad democratization of Soviet society.

Prior to the January plenum everyone was worried by the question: Will this process not come to a stop?

The January plenum strengthened the conviction within society that restructuring is assuming an irreversible character. This has greatly invigorated the attitudes of many sections of the population. There were quite a few people who stuck to a wait-and-see policy. Now they are joining the ranks of activists. However, this process is neither easy nor painless.

What is the matter? Until now we were at the stage of developing a concept of social and economic development -- the April plenum, the 27th congress and the June plenum. At present, the process of restructuring has begun to move deeper into practice, and it has turned out that the process affects the interests of many: In one case -- through product acceptance by state-appointed inspectors, in a second -- through self-repayment and self-financing, in a third -- through election, in a fourth -- through control, openness, criticism and so on.

Nothing is surprising here. The process of restructuring affects ever newer spheres of societal life and the interests of all social groups. Typical of truly revolutionary changes, restructuring encourages and lends fresh vigour to some, others are perplexed, still others simply do not like the ongoing changes. These changes are particularly against the liking of those who had become used to working without much effort, to doing everything on the off-chance, and who are indifferent and inert and these changes also are not to the liking of the kind of person who, until now, ran the affairs of an enterprise, district, city or laboratory as if it were his own patrimony, with little regard for the opinion of the collective or the workforce. This is to say nothing of those who used the atmosphere of total licence for embezzlement and gain, cynically disregarding our laws and morality. Here lie the sources of resistance to restructuring, sluggishness, and the desire to wait things out.

I repeat: In principle, this is no surprise. On the contrary, it would be strange if restructuring suited all -- honest and dishonest, hard-working and lazy, activists, principled persons, and high-handed functionaries. This could mean that something in our policy had not been well-considered, that something did not work, was faulty. But there is here a political nuance that should not be disregarded. I mentioned selfish opponents of restructuring. The specific dramatic tension of the situation consists in the fact that among its opponents there are also selfless, honest people, who so far remain captives of outdated notions. These are people who have not realized the acuity and critical character of the problems facing society. We ought to persuade them and win their confidence through the correctness of our cause, through the success of restructuring. It is our duty to help such people understand their true interests and find their place within the common ranks.

In general, restructuring is affecting all: Politburo members, Central Committee secretaries, government members, workers, farmers, and intellectuals. It is affecting the whole of society, the interests of all and everyone. At this point I want to recall Lenin's instruction concerning the need to distinguish between the short-term and the vital interests of the working class.

Yes indeed, restructuring is affecting our short-term interests, but it meets the vital long-term interests of the working people. We ought to understand this; such an understanding is of principled significance.

This is a very important position.

Restructuring ought to reveal socialism's potential, advance society to new frontiers, ensure a new quality of life in all spheres -- economic, social, and intellectual -- and consolidate socialism. [paragraph continues]

As I have already said, it meets the vital interests of the working people. If it is affecting us in some way today, we should consider everything calmly, objectively assess the situation, and adopt practical measures to abate outstanding problems.

We possess the necessary political experience and theoretical potential to resolve the tasks facing society. One thing is clear: We should advance without fail along the path of restructuring. If restructuring peters out, the consequences will be far more serious for society as a whole and for every Soviet person in particular.

Our choice of the path is correct. We are not moving away from socialism. Through restructuring, we are developing the potential of the socialist system. We are not moving away from democracy, but towards unfolding democracy in the working people's interests.

So, shall we abandon all that? Shall we abandon restructuring to oblige those it affects and those who it compels to think, act and live in a new way? This would not be policy. This would be serving someone's interests and ambitions. The CPSU Central Committee and the government shall not agree to that; I want to assure you of that -- you, your congress, and through you, the country's working people. (applause) We are convinced that this view is shared by the delegates to the trade unions congress and all Soviet people. This is what we take into account in our activity. (applause)

I will make one point anew. We must consistently and perseveringly broaden socialist democracy. The Soviet people have immense social and political experience. A great intellectual potential has been built up in the country. The generations in action today, which are taking responsibility upon themselves, are generations that were born and have grown up under socialism.

Socialism is a system of the working people. Everything taking place in a socialist state is a cause of the people. That is why we are in favor of openness. It must become the norm rather than a short-lived campaign. We are in favor of criticism and self-criticism, which should also be the norm of our life. We need such forceful forms of democracy as openness, criticism, and self-criticism to change every field of social life radically.

This is a guarantee against the repetition of past errors, and hence a guarantee that the restructuring process is irreversible.

Greater democratization might prompt some people to ask if we are not disorganizing society, if we shall not weaken management, and lower the standards for discipline, order, and responsibility. This is an extremely important question, and we must have complete clarity on it.

I will put it bluntly. Those who have doubts about the expediency of further democratization apparently suffer from one serious drawback that is of great political significance and meaning: They do not believe in our people. They claim that democracy will be used by our people to disorganize society and undermine discipline, to undermine the strength of the system. I think that we cannot agree with that. (prolonged applause)

Democracy is not the opposite of order. It is order of a higher degree, not based on implicit obedience and mindless execution of instructions, but on full-fledged, active participation by all the community in all the affairs of society.

Democracy is not the opposite of discipline. It is a conscious discipline and organization of working people based on a sense of really being master of the country, on collectivism, and solidarity of interests and efforts by all citizens.

Democracy is not the antithesis of responsibility. It does not mean the absence of control of the existence of an everything-goes mentality. Instead, democracy means self-control by society, based on confidence in the civic maturity and awareness of social duty in Soviet people. Democracy is the unity of rights and duties.

The deepening of democracy certainly is no easy matter. There is no need to fear should everything not proceed smoothly at once of if we should come across at least potholes if not even gullies. Our society is mature, our party strong. The socialist system relies on the firmest foundation of the people's support and draws strength precisely from the democratism of our life. The more democracy we have, the faster we shall advance along the road of restructuring and social renewal, and the more order and discipline we shall have in our socialist home. (applause)

So! It is either democracy or social inertia and conservatism. There is no third way, comrades.

I have already said recently that we need democracy not to show off or not to play at democracy. We need democracy to rearrange many things in our life, to give greater scope to people's creativity and to new ideas and initiative.

Comrades! Restructuring opens up new prospects and advances new tasks to be handled by the Soviet trade unions.

What are the priority tasks of trade unions in this connection? As far as I can see, precisely this question is central to your debate and to Stepan Shalayev's report.

Let me express some opinions, too.

These tasks and the ways of working toward them lie in two interconnected routes. One of them is the place of trade unions in society as a whole, their constitutional rights and obligations, their relationship with the party, with the state and its agencies, ministries, and departments, and with other public organizations. The other route is the activity of trade unions directly in the work collectives, their daily varied ties with the masses, with individuals.

The new conditions in which the country lives and acts, and the tasks toward which we are working make us reevaluate also the role of trade unions in the life of society.

I see the new role of trade unions in conditions of restructuring above all in their becoming a counterbalance to technocratic aspirations in the economy that, I must say, have become widespread recently, and in pressing for the enhancement of the social trend of the economic decisions taken. This means that trade unions should participate vigorously in working out social sections of the plan and advance their own alternatives when necessary.

More than that, trade unions must act vigorously on a nation-wide scale to prevent an interruption in the solution of production tasks and development of the social sphere. It is known that this has happened here. We are to this day incurring large losses because of this, and now enormous efforts are required to rectify the situation.

This work must be joined actively, comrades. And if there are problems that need be solved legislatively, well, there are no obstacles to trade unions there either.

The proposals made by trade unions on this score invariably receive the most sincere attention and interested support of the party and state leadership. Well, I will say straightforwardly that we have an interest in the more active work of the trade unions. Some trade union officials may have been offended or stung by my criticism -- you must remember that while visiting in the Kuban area I said that some trade union officials were dancing cheek to cheek with economic managers. I think you understood the message of that criticism: One has to have one's own firm stand and firmly pursue protecting the working people's interests. (applause)

I believe many useful and valuable things can be learned also by studying the work experience of trade unions in the fraternal socialist countries and of international trade union organizations.

The main thing here is the aims to which this work, its ultimate result, and its usefulness to people and society will be subordinate.

The scope of trade union concerns is actually the life of people, with all its joys and concerns. This means that in solving vital questions of work, health, daily life, rest, and recreation of people, trade unions should act energetically, efficiently, and in a businesslike manner.

Take, for instance, one of the most burning of our problems -- housing. It is known that the party has set the highly important social task of in effect providing every family with an apartment or house for itself within the next three 5-year plans. We are increasing efforts along all lines, involving both the state and the work collectives. In 1986 we built 5.2 million more square meters of housing than in 1985 and that increment is not the limit. Housing complexes are being built for young people, and the direct labor method of construction is being used more widely. The state has decided to grant privileges to workers who want to build houses with their own money. [At this point PRAVDA deletes the following passage included in the Moscow Television Service version of the speech published in the 27 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page R 1: "It was stated at your congress, for instance, that home builders in the Far East have decided to increase by 50 per cent their ready construction parts without expanding production areas. Such an initiative can only be welcomed, and the builders in the Far East should be wished success in this initiative."]

As you know, I visited the Far East last summer and saw with my own eyes the acuteness of the housing situation there. Housing is just as urgent an issue in other regions of the country; this came home once again during my visit to the Baltic region.

The main problem is not so much a lack of money as the capacity of building organizations and the provision of housing construction with necessary material resources. Local bodies should accomplish much here, and this already is being done in a number of republics, regions, towns, and districts.

Housing is a national issue and it should be "tackled" by all together.

All the work collectives should act as energetically as autoworkers in Gorkiy and Minsk, chemical workers in Voskresensk and steel workers in Kuybyshev. The trade unions jointly with economic management bodies should unfold this public initiative broadly throughout the country. It is an immense reserve, comrades, and people understand that all the efforts of the country should be pooled to tackle this task as speedily as possible.

Putting the concrete individual in the focus of attention, the trade unions are called upon to take better care of their most valuable asset, human health, by promoting efficient health care, labor safety and accident prevention.

Efforts to combat drunkenness must not be slackened either. This fight has brought about substantial positive change, primarily in regards to public health and order in our society. But there still are many problems.

For the time being, losses of worktime through temporary disability are "conscientiously" put on record from one year to the next and in industry alone have been more than 10 times those caused by absenteeism, idle time, and absences with official permission.

Important decisions have now been prepared on these matters. The trade unions should make a contribution to this matter of importance to the state. A complex of resolutions has been drawn up on further improvements in health care in the country.

One more point: We have already talked a good deal about formalism in socialist competition, but there is almost no change. Yet today we need competition first of all to develop worker creativity, initiative, competitiveness of mind and talent, the art of organization and the mastering of front-ranking experience.

It is time to actually do something we have been talking about for years -- reorienting the system of socialist competition to indices of quality, resource saving, and strict fulfillment of contracts. These are the three pillars on which socialist competition should be based first and foremost. It is precisely that area in which the trade unions' priority role is beyond doubt. One shouldn't expect special instructions to this effect. Every precondition has been provided. Now tackle these matters -- the main responsibility is yours.

Since this is so, I must say the trade unions have grown accustomed to an absence of genuine competitiveness, to eyewash, to abundant forms of competition which are so confused that a normal person simply fails to understand what this is all about. At times one even begins to think some "paper generator" has been set in motion in the sphere of competition with the help of the trade unions which keeps churning out papers regardless of whether there is any competition or not.

It is time to bring socialist emulation back down to earth, to the production shops and teams, to subordinate it to real pressing tasks, to make it a matter of the working people themselves who are interested in mastering the best experience, in perfecting their work and themselves.

In short, comrades, you have more than enough concerns. In conditions of consistent democratization of society, the role of trade unions will steadily rise, as will their responsibility for economic and social policies. Their cultural and educational targets will become more complex and diverse.

Continuing the theme of what the role of trade unions should be in the present conditions, I would like to say the following. The fate of the restructuring is being decided not in offices but by the actual deeds of work collectives. The work collective is the central cell in the restructuring effort and everything in the long run depends on attitudes in this cell, on the new way work develops.

In effect this is a problem of a person's real position in his collective, and thereby in our society as a whole.

How is his work organized? How productive is it and how is it remunerated? In what measure are a person's performance at work and satisfaction of his needs interconnected? How are the relations between comrades at work, between accessory manufacturers, between officials and subordinates at all levels built?

Here the dependence is simple and clear: As things go in the work collectives, so shall they go in the whole of society. If we manage to organize highly productive work and ensure a high quality of output, then the country's economy as a whole will advance. If there is order and organization in the collectives, there will be order and organization everywhere in society. If we learn all together to build normal human relations in the collective and if we make the moral and psychological climate healthier, the entire social atmosphere in the country will be just as healthy.

The party's Central Committee attaches much importance to the law on the state enterprise (amalgamation). A draft has been submitted to nationwide discussion. In effect, the draft law is invested with a new ideology for economic management. We do not think that it is truth in the last instance or that it is a finalized document. If we approached it in this way there would be no need to put it to a countrywide discussion. We think this document provides a good basis for a broad discussion in our society, for a thorough analysis of all the views and remarks and for the writing of a good law on the state enterprise. The law is called upon to change cardinally the conditions and methods of economic activity in the main link of the economy, and to reinforce by legislation the combination in the work of enterprises of the planning principle and full financial autonomy, of independence and responsibility, and to legalize new forms of self-government.

I will name such measures of a fundamental nature as the creation of the first twenty inter-branch scientific-technical complexes, the introduction of new principles for increasing remuneration of work in the productive branches, the introduction of state quality control of output at 1,500 leading enterprises, second and third shifts in a number of production collectives, the extensive development of cooperative forms in the spheres of production and services, and the spread of the system of collective and family contracts. And this list could be continued.

As you see, the reforms are proceeding extensively and steadily. Yet the work in a new way is actually only beginning.

If we take the production life of a work collective I believe the most important changes there will be determined by the restructuring of the economic mechanism that has been started, by the transition to cost-accounting, self-financing, self-repayment and self-management.

But these measures, comrades, will really begin to work only when each work collective will take them as something that is their own, as close and vital to them and not something imposed from above.

Generally speaking, who needs cost-accounting and who stands to gain from it? Those who work honestly. It is needed by the country, by every working family, by every working man and woman.

To whom does cost-accounting pose a danger? To the windbag because it immediately exposes his untenability. To the idler and shoddy worker because it hits out at the very mainstays of their parasitical well-being achieved at the expense of society and of all honest working people.

We all must approach in a new way the role of the work collective both in society, in the economic sphere, and in the life of every Soviet citizen.

Who besides the work collective can really discern the social countenance of every person, determine the measure of social justice not in general and on the whole but concretely, so to say, on a roll-call basis?

Who knows best where possibilities have been exhausted and where considerable reserves remain untapped?

Who has done everything honestly and where, and where has work in a slipshod manner become a norm?

Finally, where can a man exercise his rights and fulfill his obligations of really being in charge if not in his own collective, right in his workplace?

It appears the experience of recent times has demonstrated with the utmost clarity -- one's renunciation of an active stance in life costs dearly both society as a whole and every person. And let me tell you straight, we will not be able to change that situation until everyone has a personal need to get involved, to assume personal responsibility for this matter -- until he feels that he is in charge.

Comrades, I would like to emphasize specially the following aspect. In the current "cost accounting" situation the work collectives and trade unions are becoming a strong partner of the state in furthering social programs.

I should think that the AUCCTU and the republican trade union councils could now make a broader use of the right of legislative initiative in the interests of the working people and, when and where necessary, oppose more forcefully attempts by economic bodies to infringe on the prerogatives of the work collectives. It is wrong when without the consent of the trade unions money is taken from the economic incentive funds and other violations are tolerated. The trade unions must not put up with such a situation. And we shall support them. (applause)

Evidently attention should be devoted to the AUCCTU's proposal on giving the trade unions the right to suspend any decisions taken without their knowledge where such decisions affect terms of payment for work, and the work-rest relationship, and to be actively involved in shaping policy for pricing diverse goods and services. They should have the possibility to act as resolutely where social welfare establishments and environmental protection facilities are omitted at enterprises under construction.

Speaking about that one must not neglect the following phenomenon -- many trade unions as yet remain in the second echelon of restructuring, as it were, and that holds for such a vital matter as protection of the interests of the working people and upholding social justice.

Take the matter of pay. We have started a serious restructuring in that sphere. And it should be said the matter at hand is not a campaign or some once-only undertaking, but a principled policy line toward eliminating levelling. This is a serious political matter, comrades. Work and work alone should be the criterion for determining man's value, his social prestige and his material status. It should be noted that in the conditions of cost accounting, self-financing and self-recoupment the sources of payment for work and the provision of financial incentives depend on the profit of an enterprise, on the funds earned, and the work collective in essence takes charge in distributing them.

But let us ponder the following matter: Are trade unions doing everything they can to actively influence the policy of payment for work? You know better than I, certain enterprises are still in no hurry to part with wage levelling. The management is in no hurry because it is a bothersome matter that requires restructuring the organization of production and calls for good order in work quota setting; and a trade union committee, too, often wants to go on living without offending anyone.

No, comrades, it is high time we did away with this kind of "timidity". Some will have to be treated badly: the slacker, the drunkard and the slovenly. Let them take no offense: They are getting what they deserve. And we will elevate -- both materially and morally — the diligent man, the one who is working tooth and nail. The trade unions should defend his interests might and main.

I must say that the trade unions have not as yet joined in earnest in the important undertaking of getting two- and three-shift rotas. This is a badly needed and economically important matter -- in our industry alone fixed production assets worth R100 billion are not loaded properly and in essence are idling.

The trouble is, however, that at many enterprises the introduction of work in many shifts often has been approached in a bureaucratic fashion, without due regard for production organization, catering, public transport, or many other vitally important problems.

I had many meetings in Latvia and Estonia, and among the issues raised the problem of getting two- and three-shift rotas was one of the main problems taken up everywhere. In Yurmala, where working people from practically all over the country -- from Sakhalin to the western regions -- are vacationing, those questions were also put before me. What did the people say? There are enterprises where one shift is divided into two just to fulfill an order either from the respective branch ministry or from local authorities: Fifty percent work during the first shift and 50 percent during the second. So, it turns out that during the first shift, 50 percent of the equipment is used and the other 50 percent is used during the second. This is a mockery both of common sense and of an undertaking of state significance. For the Leningraders' plan, approved by the Politburo, was to concentrate two or three shifts on the advanced, progressive equipment so as to receive a maximum return from it, to improve labor productivity and at the same time to accomplish the planned tasks, to remove the old equipment and open up the road for speeding up the modernization.

At the same time this enables an enterprise to do without expansion, without building new premises, to release funds and channel them into building housing, and social and cultural establishments. Such is the major plan of state significance contained in that idea. Instead, some managers just go through the motions and profane that very important undertaking. (applause)

Trade unions should pay special attention to this. If one enterprise changes, it is unlikely that the entire city will alter its normal rhythm in the area of transport, organization of trade, education and work of pre-school centers, and consumer services. Therefore, the transition should be carried out by the city or basically by the entire city. This seems so clear that no discussion is required. Nevertheless transition to two- and three-shift rotas often is carried out without the restructuring of city services' operations which I have just mentioned. This is a mistake; this is done in unnecessary haste which no one needs and which discredits this undertaking, which is of statewide importance.

We said this recently in a resolution of the Central Committee and the government. We defined a number of major measures of which you already know. Anyway, we decided to provide incentives for those working on second and especially third shifts. This, I think, is correct.

I think that in the conditions of growing economic independence, work collectives will demand from trade union activists that they be more principled and energetic in using the rights enjoyed by the trade unions. You have these rights. The Soviet trade unions have both tremdous material strength and great rights. These are the right to monitor how the administration fulfills its agreements and contracts and the right to criticize economic managers for actions contradicting the legitimate interests of the working people.

Naturally, in putting higher demands on trade union functionaries, it is necessary to display maximum attention and tact and to extend support for them.

Trade union committees should become genuine, I would say, rather than convenient, in many ways, partners of the administration and should consistently defend workers' interests. To be frank, substandard working conditions at many enterprises, insufficient health care and inadequate rest rooms are something that trade union organizations have become used to in many places. This still occurs very often. The legitimate rights and interests of working people imply using boldly the trade unions' great potentialities and acting, as necessary, to have wrong decisions corrected.

In closing my remarks on domestic affairs, I want to remind you of V.I. Lenin's words: "We must see to it that literally every member of the trade unions has a vested interest in production and remembers that only by increasing production and raising labor productivity will Soviet Russia be in a state to win."

This is the way V.I. Lenin put the question in 1920; this is the way we put it today in the conditions of new revolutionary changes. (applause)

A time has come when unprecedented opportunities are opening up for better work, for greater results and for vigorous endeavors to build a better future with due account for all our rich experience and with all our considerable potentialities being tapped. Let us act, comrades, in this direction. (applause)

Now briefly to international affairs, since enough has been said lately on this account, I hope. Such issues are directly linked to the course of our domestic development. These affairs take much effort while the world situation, as you are aware, has remained complex over the past years. What is most essential is that imperialism and reactionary forces are doing their utmost to hinder, come what may, our onward development and to compel us to remain on the tracks of military confrontation.

The 27th congress emphasized that the party saw its principal internationalist duty in leading the country successfully on along the trail blazed by the October Revolution. Such is the strict criterion by which we ought to measure each step; such is the viewpoint from which we should assess the tasks that are being advanced and the choice of policy, both inside the country and in the international arena.

The words restructuring [perestroika] and openness [glasnost] are viewed everywhere abroad, especially since the January meeting of the Central Committee, as synonymous with progress and peace.

Naturally, some -- our allies, friends, and democratically minded people -- are following with hope, confidence, and great expectations the changes in our society, the style and atmosphere of our everyday life.

Others -- political and ideological opponents -- are watching these processes not without certain apprehensions and at times even hostility.

Characteristically, despite these differences, the main thing has been correctly noticed abroad: The new way of thinking that the party has set out as the basis of its policy is the CPSU's response to the challenge of the time, a challenge calling for a fundamentally new approach to the tasks that have come before mankind at the end of the second millennium.

There are, in fact, two fundamental tasks, that of saving the world from nuclear catastrophe and that of placing at man's service an immense potential of knowledge, and material and spiritual possibilities he possesses.

They are, indeed, immense, urgent, and closely interrelated. The party, in working out its strategy for acceleration and restructuring, has set an example by approaching them from humanist Marxist-Leninist positions.

The Soviet proposals aimed at eliminating weapons of mass destruction and establishing a comprehensive security system have evoked a special response. Some of them are already working -- they have become the subject of dialogues and negotiations, both bilateral and multilateral.

Properly speaking, we have tried to give an impetus to the reorganization of interstate relations as well as to bring them into alignment with the real tasks and requirements of our times. As a result, international life has become more dynamic, and the tendencies toward the search for forms and means of deepening political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation have grown stronger.

True, sometimes we can hear such an opinion: All this is correct, we do support the party's foreign policy, but the world is still an intranquil place: The arms race goes on and on, the nuclear threat remains a reality, and American imperialism is not only unwilling to disarm, but is also building up its offensive capability. Such an assessment of the situation is, on the whole, correct, but I believe it is still incomplete.

Yes, the situation on the international scene is dangerous; the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear arms limitation are making no headway through the fault of the U.S. rulers and acute conflicts in various regions of this planet are fraught with grave complications.

However, there is something else that should not be dismissed. A dramatic change in the very atmosphere of international relations, in public sentiment, in the attitude of both ordinary people and many statesmen on the principal question of today -- the question of war or peace -- has made itself felt and is becoming ever more pronounced.

This has been manifestly confirmed by the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity." It was a very representative meeting of authoritative scientists, writers, artists, musicians, businessmen, public, and religious figures from very many countries, a meeting of people who are mostly far from a socialist world outlook and even people who hold conservative views on major political and social issues. It is also a fact, and quite meaningful. However, the people were brought together by one conviction: Only affirmation of a new mode of thinking in international relations can prevent nuclear war, can make peace not only possible but inevitable.

The forum has been an important event in international life, and I would say a barometer of the sentiment of world public opinion. And the needle of that barometer is pointing firmly and plainly to peace.

There have been debates, heated ones too, as to how to proceed in that direction, how to resolve certain problems and substantial differences in approach that have cropped up. Well, debates, criticism, and comparison of views are all quite natural and the surest road to truth. And the truth, the need to avert a catastrophe, to survive and to learn how to live in a manner befitting human beings, has never, as far as I know, been called into question by any of the participants in the Moscow meeting.

It seems to me that the forum's results demonstrate that a new, very broad, heterogeneous, and yet momentous movement -- the movement for the survival of humanity -- is taking shape in the world. This is a favorable sign. It gives rise to confidence in the victory of reason over the forces of war and militarism.

Trade union organizations in different countries are becoming ever more active in combatting the nuclear threat. The trade union movement is a major force in the contemporary world and one of the most important components of the movement for humanity's survival. The coupling of the fight for the working people's interests with the fight for peace and disarmament means that the masses' awareness of the danger looming over humankind is ever more clear and profound. This is why it is so important that the trade unions join in that fight.

I am glad for the chance to greet at your congress numerous envoys and representatives of trade unions from different countries, of their international associations. (applause)

I am convinced that the right to live and work in peace is a primary and inalienable right of every person. Nothing can set working people against themselves. The arms race and war bring workers neither profits nor dividends. Peace, cooperation, and work provide the conditions for worker well-being and social progress. (applause)

The peace and security of a country is not the concern of diplomats and politicians alone. Peace and security for the homeland is the concern of every one of us, of all Soviet people. Comrades, I would like to make a point. Peace is to be achieved primarily by our everyday work at the factory, in the field, and at the research institute. The better and more successfully we cope with our tasks at home, the louder and more forcefully will resound the voice of the Soviet Union in defense of peace internationally.

Comrades, today we know and understand full well that the all-out offensive -- economic, political, psychological and militarist -- launched by the forces of reaction at the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s was dictated, among other things, by our internal state of affairs. Today, with the enemy's stake on our lagging behind having suffered a serious setback, imperialism is shifting the emphasis to preventing us from enacting the plans for reform by hampering, slowing down and frustrating them through the arms race. To this end they exert every effort to maintain international tension and preserve conditions in the world which continue to describe the USSR as a source of all evils and misfortunes.

All this is as outdated as imperialism itself. There is nothing unexpected or principally new in such behavior by the reactionaries. Our answer is clear. We have been and will keep doing everything necessary to absolutely guarantee our security and the security of our friends and allies, so that no one is tempted to test our borders. But we shall not make a single step in excess of the demands and requirements of sensible, sufficient defense.

Let us not repeat -- automatically without thinking -- what imperialism is seeking to impose on us in the arms race. We are keeping and will continue to keep all doors open for any honest steps to limit and reduce arms, to secure dependable verification over this process, and to strengthen international mutual security. Our every step along the path of socialist renewal is both a victory for the forces of peace and progress and a setback for the forces of aggression and militarism.

This is, comrades, how the issues we are advancing in domestic policy merge with the matters to be resolved in the international arena.

The tasks of acceleration, restructuring of socialist society, prevention of nuclear catastrophe, demilitarization of the world and humanization of international relations form the core of the strategic course of the 27th CPSU Congress, a course confirmed and particularized by the January Plenum of the Central Committee. (applause)

Let me assure you, comrades, that the party shall not depart from the course it has taken. (prolonged applause)

Relying on your support, on the support of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, all Soviet people, the party shall advance -- resolutely, boldly and purposefully -- along the path started 70 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution. (applause)

I wish the congress successful work, and the delegates and guests great new accomplishments, health and fortitude. (prolonged applause)